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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society

FOR

1922

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society

FOR

1922

EDITED BY

ROLAND AUSTIN,

HON. GENERAL SECRETARY.

VOL. XLIV.

KENDAL:
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY TITUS WILSON AND SON.

The Council of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society desires that it should be distinctly understood that the Council is not responsible for any statement made, or opinions expressed, in the Transactions of the Society. The Authors are alone responsible for their several Papers and Communications, and the Editor, except in case of signed reviews, for the Notices of Books.

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PROCEEDINGS

AT THE SPRING MEETING AT CHEPSTOW AND TINTERN.

Monday, 29th May, 1922.

For the first time since 1914 the Society was able to revert to its old established custom of holding a meeting in the Spring of the year. The occasion was favoured with perfect weather and the beauty of the Wye Valley was seen under most pleasant conditions. Over one hundred members gathered at Chepstow station, where the respective parties from the Bristol and Gloucester districts met and proceeded to

CHEPSTOW CASTLE

which was visited by permission of our member Mr. W. R. Lysaght, who gave special facilities for every part of the Castle to be seen.

Chepstow Castle—Striguil as it was called during the first centuries of its existence—has been so fully described in our *Transactions* (vi, 51-74, with plan) by the late George T. Clark, F.S.A., it is unnecessary to give full details of the fabric. The Castle occupies a prominent position on the steep cliffs on the right bank of the river Wye, with a ravine to the south, known as "Castle Ditch," separating it from the town; on the west a double line of ditch has been quarried in the rock. The principal features are the western gatehouse, the hall, and the great round tower known as Marten's Tower. The buildings comprise work of the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth cen-

turies. The hall and middle ward were built by the two Strongbows in the reign of Henry II, and the barbican and lower ward by the Marshalls in the time of Henry III.

Mr. H. A. Evans (*Castles of England and Wales*), refers to the hall as " One of the most remarkable buildings in the history of British Castles." It is about 100 feet long and 40 feet wide, and dominates the whole Castle. Its walls vary in thickness from 9 feet to 5 feet. Marten's (or Bigod's) Tower, half round in plan and 42 feet in diameter, rises from a square base 42 feet broad by 52 feet in depth. The outer wall is 12 feet thick.

The great hall is principally of Norman work of the twelfth century. Later additions of the thirteenth century are spoken of by Mr. A. Hamilton Thompson (*Military Architecture in England*), as unusually elaborate for military work of that time.

The Castle has been the possession of many great nobles, the earliest of whom was Fitz Osbern, Earl of Hereford. From him it passed to the Earls of Pembroke, the Marshalls, the Despencers, and Herberts, and then to the Somersets. It is now the propoerty of Mr. W. R. Lysaght.

A very complete history of the Castle was written by J. F. Marsh, in his *Annals of Chepstow Castle* (1883).

Mr. Harold Brakspear, F.S.A., had very kindly promised to meet the Society, and, taking up a position in the ward immediately inside the main entrance, he gave a most interesting architectural description of the Castle. In the course of his remarks he said:—

There has been much misconception in the past as to what a castle of the conquest was like. It must be remembered that the Norman invasion was a military campaign and whatever defences were necessary to protect the invaded country they must have been such that could be made quickly. The Norman castle so dreaded by the Saxons was an earthwork formed by cutting a deep ditch and throwing up the debris into a great mound

which was defended by wooden stockades. A court or bailey sufficiently large to accommodate the invading army was next made by cutting an encircling ditch and throwing up the debris as a bank on the inside, which was also surrounded by a stockade. The deep ditches and the earth banks and mound with a stockaded top was an impregnable stronghold before the introduction of gunpowder. As time went on and the country became quieter those castles which were required for permanent protection of the country had their temporary wooden defences substituted with stone and ultimately all the castle was built in stone. This process of conversion was a lengthy operation, even the royal castle of Windsor was not completely walled until the fourteenth century.

The site of this castle of Estrighoiel or Chepstow was a natural stronghold and there was no occasion to throw up a mound or make a ditch round the bailey, all that was required to make the place impregnable was to cut a ditch across the west end of the site and deepen the side of the natural ravine on the south.

The first building to be erected in stone was the great hall, which was never a keep, in the narrowest part of the site dividing the area into two baileys with a narrow passage on the north side of the hall connecting the two. The western bailey was enclosed with stone walls in the twelfth century and the eastern bailey was walled later in the same century. Westward of the latter is a portion of the castle protected by two ditches which may in the first place have been intended for the mount but if such was ever raised it was levelled down in the thirteenth century and the site surrounded with walls. In the fourteenth century another and large bailey was added at the east end of the site with an entirely new set of domestic buildings.

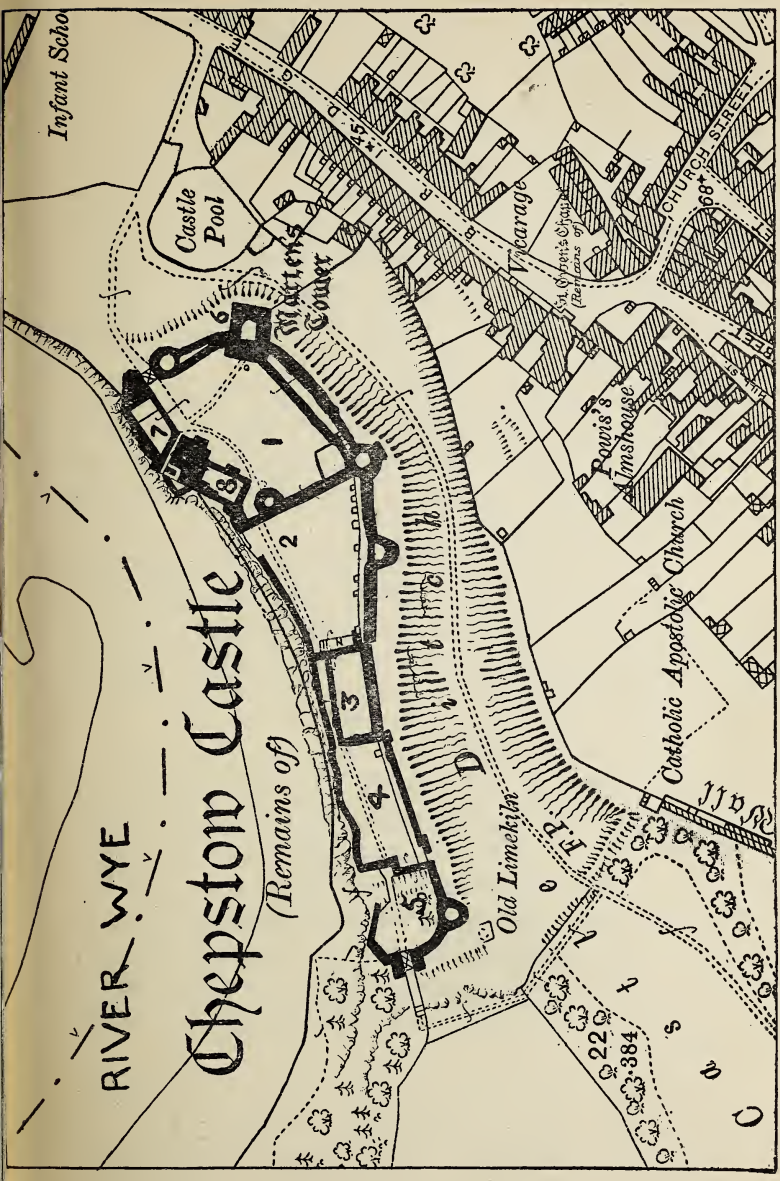
Speaking of the Hall Mr. Brakspear said it was the first stone building to be erected on the site and from its

character there is no reason to suppose it was any later than the work of William Fitz Osbern, the owner of the castle at Domesday. The hall was on the first floor over a cellar and was gained at its eastern end by an external flight of steps. In the south and west walls are series of round headed recesses and externally there are pilaster buttresses dividing it into five bays in length and two in width. In the thirteenth century great alterations were made in the hall and new windows inserted in the south wall. In the fourteenth century the walls were raised and chambers added above.

The west bailey had at the west end an entrance gateway and a guard chamber of two stories to the south. Further westward was the part added in the thirteenth century commonly called "the Barbican" which has a round tower to the south west and a gateway in the west wall protected by a draw bridge over the deep ditches beyond. In the ditch between the barbican and the western bailey is a sally post to the south.

The original east bailey has very strong walls on the south and east and is further strengthened with three round towers. It has a gateway at the north east angle protected by a portcullis and originally had a draw bridge over a ditch which formerly existed outside this bailey on the east.

The party then returned to the lower ward, where Mr. Brakspear reminded them that they had already seen the earlier part of the Castle, the first defensive earthwork, the Norman Hall and the middle bailey added in the 12th century. They now came back to where they started—to the lower bailey, built in the 14th century. It has the main entrance to the castle in the north east angle protected by drum towers. At the south east angle is a large half round tower, commonly called Marten's tower, which contains a complete set of living rooms with a chapel apparently for the use of the constable and his



1. Lower Ward. 2. Middle Ward. 3. Keep. 4. Upper Ward. 5. Barbican. 6. Marten's Tower. 7. 13th Century Kitchen. 8. 13th Century Hall.

Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey by permission of H.M. Stationery Office.

household. On the north side of this tower bailey is a set of rooms consisting of a large hall, with a porch-like projection containing a chapel, a kitchen, buttery and pantry which was connected at the east end with the entrance gateway and rooms above. Under the hall is a vaulted cellar with a large door over the river whereby stores could be handed up from barges beneath. When this bailey was added the ditch outside the eastern curtain of the middle bailey was filled in and the space covered in Tudor days by a range of buildings which have been destroyed.

Complete as Chepstow castle appears to be there were two buildings in connexion with the Norman hall of which no evidence of their site now remains and those were the kitchen and chapel without which at that period no building was ever complete.

The thanks of the members for the interesting and clear way in which Mr. Brakspear had described the Castle were expressed by Mr. John E. Pritchard, F.S.A., and an opportunity was then given for a perambulation of the various buildings and battlements.

CHEPSTOW CHURCH.

The parish church (formerly the Benedictine church of St. Mary) has suffered considerably from the hands of the "restorer" but still contains distinctive architectural features of Norman period. The nave (c. 1100) has arcades of plain character with low triforium of two-coupled arches and clerestory. The font is fifteenth century. Mr. Brakspear gave a short description of the church and Miss Ida Roper read the following notes on the monuments:—

The monument at the west end commemorates Henry Somerset, 2nd Earl of Worcester, an ancestor of the present Duke of Beaufort. His father was created the first earl in 1514 for distinguished abilities in the French

campaign, and he himself received the honour of knighthood in France during the war; he succeeded to the earldom in 1526 and died in 1549.

His wife, the Countess Elizabeth, lies beside him. She was the daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, knight, standard bearer to King Henry VII, and the Commisssioner who authorized the distribution of Tintern Abbey. She was a sister of Sir Anthony Browne, whose monumental effigy is in Battle Church, Sussex. She died sixteen years after her husband, and the monument would probably have been erected under her personal instructions.

Both figures are represented in coronation robes of scarlet cloth lined with ermine and fastened at the throat by the usual cord and tassels, and both have small coronets on the head. These are not of the present form of earl's coronets, which would show eight silver gilt balls alternating with small strawberry leaves, and did not come into use till the time of Henry VIII.

The Earl wears beneath his robe a suit of Tudor armour, and the Countess a simple bodice and gown hanging in graceful folds to the feet, and a tight fitting cap over her hair, arranged in coils on the forehead. She wears a girdle of goldsmith's work to which is attached a large pomander, and both figures have handsome chains of embossed medallions on the shoulders, worn outside the robes.

The lofty Jacobean monument in the south transept commemorates Thomas Shipman, died 1620, and his wife Margaret. After his death she married again and her second husband, Richard Clayton, took the opportunity to have an effigy of himself placed on the same tomb. The twelve children, two sons and ten daughters, represented in relief below, belong to the first marriage.

The husbands are kneeling facing one another, dressed in civilian costume of the time of James I, and long gowns with false sleeves. The lady lies in front of them, in a

large hood or calash. She was the daughter of John Maddock of Woolaston, Gloucestershire. The monuments were restored in 1898 by the Duke of Beaufort.

Two parties were formed for the luncheons arranged at the Beaufort Arms Hotel and the "Wye Not" rooms, and at 2 p.m. members left by motor for Tintern Abbey, which they had the advantage of visiting under the guidance of Mr. C. R. Peers, F.S.A., Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, who is carrying out extensive reparations undertaken by the Board of Works for the preservation of the buildings.

TINTERN ABBEY.

By C. R. Peers, F.S.A.

Tintern Abbey, founded 1131, is the second Cistercian house in Britain in order of date, and shares with Waverley, the first house to be founded (1128), the distinction of retaining traces of its original aisleless church, a type not elsewhere found in this country.

The Statutes of the Cistercian Order were devised to secure uniformity of observance in all the houses of the Order, and this extended, in the earlier days at least, to the planning and architectural treatment of their buildings. As the Rule aimed at renewing the pristine simplicity of St. Benedict's Rule, so the surroundings of those living by the Rule were to be of the simplest. Ornament and colour, costly buildings and elaborate ritual, were to be avoided, and so effective was the organization of the Order that Cistercian houses built during the first century of its existence are readily distinguished from those of other Orders. There is also a further reason for their difference in the prominence given to lay brothers. Other orders had lay brothers, but the Cistercians organized them into a definite community, inhabiting the same monasteries as the monks, but having their own part of the church for services, their own dormitories and refectory, and holding

their own chapter meetings. The western part of the church was allotted to them, and the western range of the claustral buildings, and since the monks' accommodation was restricted to the other two ranges, the planning of these ranges was modified in a manner which distinguishes a Cistercian cloister from all others. In the earliest Cistercian plans the refectory was set, as in normal Benedictine houses, parallel with the cloister walk adjoining it, thus taking up the greater part of the side of the cloister and leaving no room for the kitchen, except in the western range. But during the 12th century it became the fashion to set the refectory at right angles to the cloister, standing north and south instead of east and west, thus taking up only the space of its breadth and allowing room for the kitchen on the same side of the cloister. This development is well seen at Tintern. The plan of the 12th century cloister, which was smaller than that now existing, has been recovered by excavation, and shows that the first refectory stood east and west. Early in the 13th century a gradual rebuilding and enlargement of the cloister was undertaken, enough of the 12th century masonry being retained to show that the first chapter house was of the same size as that now existing, and that the dormitory was of the same width as at present. Remains of a fireplace in the east wall of the ground floor of the eastern range show that the warming house was at first in this position, but after the rebuilding of the refectory a new warming house, very ingeniously planned with a fireplace open on four sides, was built to the east of the refectory, with the day-stair also at first in the eastern range, between it and the dormitory.

The first church at Tintern remained in use till the last quarter of the 13th century, then it was superseded by the beautiful building which now exists. This was begun in 1269, and was far enough advanced by 1287 for service to be held in it. The old church was pulled down piecemeal

as the new work went up, and the latter, to judge from the detail, was finished in the first quarter of the 14th century. Its window-tracery illustrates the change in the method of securing the glass which took place about 1275-85, grooves in the stonework succeeding the wood frames in which glass had till then been set.

A number of carved stones from the pulpitum, the stone screen at the west end of the monastic choir, are preserved, and show that this part of the church was fitted up early in the 14th century.

To the east of the cloister stood the monastic infirmary, built in the 13th century and remodelled in the 14th. Its original plan was that of a hall with arcades opening to north and south aisles, the beds of the sick being in the aisles; but the higher standard of comfort demanded in the 14th century caused the arcades to be superseded by solid walls, and the aisles to be cut up into rooms with fireplaces in each. A covered walk led from the infirmary to the cloister, and a second walk to the church. The lay-brothers' buildings, west of the cloisters, are much ruined, but having been laid out while the first church was still standing, do not abut on the present church, but are connected to it by a high wall, on the west side of which the staircase to their dormitory was set.

To the west of the church are to be seen the ruins of some of the buildings which stood in the outer court of the abbey, being the offices and guesthouses; they have not as yet been thoroughly cleared and examined. The wall enclosing the monastic precinct is also preserved in a few places, and its line can be ascertained; the gatehouse chapel, a pretty 13th century building, now forms part of a dwelling house.

Mr. Peers was warmly thanked for his kindness in coming from London in order to meet the Society and for the exposition which he had given.

A full and detailed account of the Abbey, by Mr.

Brakspear, with illustrations and plan, can be obtained from the custodian. A paper by Mr. Thomas Blashill on the architectural history, with plans, is printed in *Transactions*, vi, 88-106.

After spending some further time in the Abbey grounds members returned to Chepstow for tea and later motored to "Castleford," the residence of Mr. W. R. Lysaght, who permitted them to see the gardens and also his Natural History Museum, which contains a good collection of birds, a privilege which was appreciated.

The arrangements made by the Hon. General Secretary were carried out with the usual punctuality and gave every satisfaction.

Mr. Francis Were, who was present at the meeting, contributes the following note on Tintern Parva, near Wexford.

On such an occasion as this, it seems right to recall to mind the Abbey of Tintern Parva, near Wexford, in Ireland. Tintern Parva was a votive foundation by William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, in 1200, after a perilous voyage from Milford Haven. The Earl brought over a number of Cistercian monks from the mother house here and endowed it with large estates. It acquired afterwards several advowsons, but had to pay annually 10 marks to the Archbishop of Canterbury. In building the ground plan of the mother Abbey was followed, but on a smaller scale, so it looks as if it was designed by the same architect; but with the difference that the Tower, which has withstood all the ravages of time, was evidently built for defence against pudatory Irish. In 1447 it became so dilapidated, that the Abbot rebuilt the house at his own expense, and in consequence he was excused parliamentary attendance. In 1538 the dissolution took place, John Power being the last, and John Torrell the first Abbot. William Seyntlo seems to have acquired and added to his Castle of Rosegarland a goodly portion of the

Abbey estates. In 1552, Edw. VI granted a lease of the Abbey site to Thomas Wood for 40 years, but in 1556-7, the family of Francis Agard possessed it. Anthony Colclough, who had married Clare Agard obtained a fee farm grant of the Abbey and its possessions in 1562. He died 1584, and his monument is in the old chapel. The Colcloughs are still stated to be of Tintern Parva Abbey, the choir principally having been turned into a dwelling house by Anthony, the first possessor, and the place has been well looked after, though there has been no rebuilding.

PROCEEDINGS

At the Annual Summer Meeting at Tetbury and Malmesbury.

On Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, the 18th, 19th and 20th July, 1922.

The forty-seventh Annual Meeting of the Society was held in the Tetbury and Malmesbury Districts during the three days 18th-20th July, 1922. The headquarters were at Tetbury as the original intention to make Malmesbury the centre had to be abandoned owing to the mpossibility of obtaining accommodation. Indeed at one time it seemed as if the meeting must be held in another part of the County but through the readiness of Mr. and Mrs. Holloway, of the Talbot Hotel, Tetbury, to do everything for the comfort and convenience of the Society, the programme was carried out.

The number of members attending was one of the largest for some years, over 120 tickets being issued. Arrangements were made for motors to travel direct from Gloucester and Bristol to Tetbury, where the respective parties met just before noon and at once assembled in the Town Hall for the Annual General Meeting, held there by permission of the Town Trust.

The chair was taken by the President, the Very Rev. the Dean of Gloucester (Henry Gee, D.D., F.S.A.,) and among those present were Mr. John E. Pritchard, F.S.A. (Chairman of Council), Sir Francis H. Crawley-Boevey (President-elect), Dr. E. Sidney Hartland, LL.D., F.S.A. (Editor), Roland Austin (Hon. General Secretary), Wilfrid Leighton (Secretary for Bristol), J.J. Simpson, Rev. C. Swynnerton, F.S.A., Colonel E. B. Jeune, F. S. Hockaday,

Rev. L. H. Dahl, J. S. G. W. Stroud, Miss Ida Roper, C. C. Wells, and J. E. Barton.

The Hon. General Secretary read the report of Council for the year 1921-2, as follows:—

REPORT OF COUNCIL, 1921-2.

Membership. The Council are glad to report that the membership of the Society, in spite of resignations and losses by death, is well maintained, there being at the date of the Annual Meeting 636 members, a larger number than at any time in the history of the Society. There have been 62 new members elected since the last general meeting. The resignations number 31 and the Council have to record the deaths of members who in the past have done good service to the Society. Among them are three original members, leaving now only twelve who were elected in 1876.

Obituary. The Earl of Ducie (original member) presided over the inaugural meeting of the Society held at Bristol in 1876, and on more than one occasion welcomed members to his seat at Tortworth. He was also a Trustee for the Society.

Christopher Bowly (original member) one of our Vice-Presidents, was on the Council from 1888, and always took an interest in the work.

Cecil Tudor Davis (elected in 1882) was an active member up to the time of his leaving the county for London, where he was Librarian in Wandsworth borough for many years. He will be remembered particularly for his work in connexion with monumental brasses. He served as honorary secretary to the Monumental Brass Society, and also wrote the manual on Gloucestershire brasses.

Vincent R. Perkins (elected in 1885) closely indentified himself with the Society. He served on the Council from 1886 and was local secretary for Wotton-under-Edge for many years. He contributed to the *Transactions* and was well known as an entomologist.

The Rt. Hon. Lewis Fry (original member), Charles Scott (elected 1877), Sir Francis Brain (1919), James Fielding (1916), Mark Whitwill (1919), Rev. W. M. Croome (1912), and Dr. R. Shingleton Smith (1914) have died also during the year.

Finance. The statement appended shows that the condition of the Society's finances still continues satisfactory. The balance in hand on the 1st January, 1921, was £193 12s. 1d. and the year's income was from annual subscriptions £289 5s. 6d., entrance fees £29 18s. 6d., interest on War Loan £32 10s., sale of publications £11 11s. 8d., donations £7 6s. 6d., interest on deposit account £7 11s. 2d., surplus from the joint meeting with the Royal Archæological Institute £22 0s. 10d., bringing the total to £593 16s. 3d. The expenditure was £342 15s. 6d., which included the publication of volume xlii of the *Transactions*, £237 1s. 10d., typewriter £30, and general items such as subscriptions to Societies (£7 15s. 6d.), rent (£8 8s), binding (£11 7s 7d.), postage (£17 12s.), general printing and stationery (£16 9s 6d.) The balance on the 31st December, 1921, was £251 0s. 9d. All subscriptions for 1921 were paid in before the end of the year and the balance sheet shows a surplus of £835 16s. 3d. in cash and securities, without taking into account the value of the Society's library or the publications in hand.

Transactions. The Editor (Dr. E. Sidney Hartland, F.S.A.) issued the annual volume of *Transactions* under difficulties due to labour troubles. The proceedings at Malvern were fully reported and other matter of interest published. The Council renewed the contract with the present printers at a somewhat lower rate and they hope during the forthcoming year to effect a further saving.

Library. Some important additions have been made to the Society's library, the policy of completing the series of Calendars of Public Records being pursued. The purchases include the Catalogue of Ancient Deeds, 3v., Calendars of Close Rolls, 4v., and of Patent Rolls, 16v.

The following gifts from members have been received:—

From Mr. E. J. Burrow: his original drawings of the camps and earthworks of Gloucestershire, mounted in three volumes.

From Mrs Henry Medland: An Album of photographs of ancient buildings, &c., in Gloucester and elsewhere taken by her husband, the late Henry Medland, for many years a valued member of the Society.

From Mrs. A. H. Hore: The History of Carew, Pembrokeshire, by William G. Spurrell. 1921.

From Mr. W. L. Meredith: Monograph of the pedigree of the Family of Herbert of Gwernddu, Monmouth. 1921.

The volumes received from other Societies in exchange have been bound and placed on the shelves.

The library continues to be well used and it is gratifying to the Council to know that it is of great service to the general public. It will be remembered that under the arrangement made with the Gloucester Public Library Committee the books are available to all readers at the Public Library.

The catalogue of books which was issued in 1898 is practically out of print, and owing to the considerable additions made since then it is desirable to publish a complete catalogue in the near future.

General Meetings. The Spring meeting of 1921 had to be cancelled owing to difficulties consequent on the railway strike.

The joint meeting with the Royal Archæological Institute, arrangements for which had been in progress for several months, was held in July. The meeting tickets numbered 199 (allowing for some cancelled), there being 70 members of the Archæological Institute and 129 of our own Society present. The excursions were favoured with very fine—if somewhat trying—weather and so far as can be possible in preparing for the multitude of details in such a series everything worked smoothly and for the convenience of all present. A special illustrated programme was prepared and its utility during the week fully justified the cost. Though the expenditure involved on the meeting was necessarily heavy there remained a surplus of £44 1s. 8d., which was divided equally between the two Societies. The Council believe that the general management of the meeting, and the financial result, satisfied the Council of the Royal Archæological Institute. For their own part they regard it as very successful, and they desire to point out that its success was due to the very skilful conduct of the preliminary arrangements and of the meeting itself on the part of the General Secretary, whose unremitting services they desire expressly and very warmly to recognize.

The Spring meeting of 1922—the first of such meetings since 1914—was held on the 29th May at Chepstow Castle and Tintern Abbey, which were visited under the respective direction of Mr Harold Brakspear, F.S.A., and Mr. C. R. Peers, F.S.A. (Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments). The weather was ideal and a large number of members attended. Their hearty thanks are due to Mr. Brakspear and Mr. Peers for the very interesting addresses which were given, and also to our member, Mr. W. R. Lysaght, for permitting them to see his Natural History Museum and the grounds at "Castleford."

Winter Meetings, Bristol. The Secretary for Bristol was again

able to arrange an attractive series of Winter meetings at the Red Lodge. The environment of the meeting place adds not a little to the pleasure of these evenings. The following papers were read:—

November 21st, 1921. "Somerset Church Towers," by C. F. W. Dening, F.R.I.B.A., A.W.A.

December 19th, 1921. "John Smyth of Nibley and Benjamin Crokey of Bristol," by Roland Austin.

January 16th, 1922. "Portraiture in Monumental Effigies," by Dr. A. C. Fryer, F.S.A.

February 20th, 1922. "St. Mary Redcliff," by Harold Brakspear, F.S.A.

March 20th, 1922. "A hitherto unknown original print of the great plan of Bristol by Jacobus Millerd, 1673," by John E. Pritchard, F.S.A.

"Heraldry on the Norton tomb in Abbot's Leigh Church," by Francis Were.

"Bristol Monumental Inscriptions from Savage's manuscript 1668-9," by Lewis J. U. Way, F.S.A.

Excavations Committee. The Chairman and Treasurer (John E. Pritchard, F.S.A.) of this Committee reports that the balance to the credit of this fund now amounts to £138 8s. 2d. It has not been possible yet to arrange for any definite excavation work though support was given to a proposal to assist in uncovering a Roman pavement found in Victoria Road, Cirencester, and £14 18s. 8d. was paid towards the cost of labour. The initial result did not yield much, but the work was continued with more success by the owner of the ground, and a report prepared by Mr. St. Clair Baddeley has been printed in *The Builder* of the 10th June, 1922 and in the *Wilts and Gloucestershire Standard* of the 17th June.

The Committee have also been much interested in work on the line of the Roman Wall in the workhouse grounds at Cirencester, which has enabled considerable lengths of wall to be seen and measured. This opportunity was due to the generosity of our member, Mrs. Wilfred Cripps, who at her own charge engaged 12 unemployed men for a month to clear away the soil.

Netherton Chapel. The work proceeding under the direction of Mr. E. A. B. Barnard, F.S.A. (local secretary at Evesham) was mentioned in last year's report, and the Council are glad to know that through Mr. Barnard's vigilance and careful oversight the remains of the Chapel are now secure from further destruction, and also put into a thoroughly orderly condition.

Campden Maces. The attention of the Council has been drawn to a proposal of the Chipping Campden Town Trust to deposit the ancient silver maces of the borough of Campden in the Victoria and Albert Museum, a proposal which they view with concern, as in their opinion such interesting objects should remain in the locality with which they are associated, even though difficulties may arise in regard to custodianship. The Town Trust asked for an expression of opinion from the Society and after full discussion and consideration of the facts the following resolution was passed—

> That the Council of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society learn with much concern that the Campden Town Trust have applied to the Charity Commissioners to alter the Scheme of the 2nd August, 1889 for the safe keeping of the property of the Ancient Corporation of Chipping Campden, so as to enable them to deposit in the Victoria and Albert Museum the TWO SILVER MACES which have been in the possession of Campden for over three hundred years, and they are unanimously of opinion that the Maces, which form part of the Insignia of the ancient Corporation, should be retained in the Town.
>
> They are also of opinion that only when urgent reasons require the removal of the Maces should this be contemplated and then that under the Scheme the Corporation of Gloucester be asked to undertake the custody of the Maces for exhibition in the Public Museum at Gloucester until such time as proper arrangements for their safe keeping and exhibition can be made at Campden.

In view of this opinion and opposition to the proposal by other bodies interested the Charity Commissioners have intimated that they cannot sanction any alteration in the scheme which would permit the removal of the Maces.

Appointments. The Council have re-nominated Mr John E. Pritchard, F.S.A., as their representative on the Leigh Woods Committee of Management. The Charity Commissioners have approved the nomination of Colonel W. F. N. Noel as the Society's representative Trustee on the Chipping Campden Town Trust.

Council Meetings. The Council have met regularly during the year and their thanks are expressed to the Corporation of Gloucester and to the Trustees of the Bristol Municipal Charities for placing rooms at their service for the meetings.

Council. Nominations of the Council for the various executive officers are submitted. It will be noticed that the Council nominate Mr. H. Goldingham to watch over the interests of the Society in the Wotton-under-Edge district in succession to the late Vincent R. Perkins, and Rev. R. Jowett Burton to undertake the local secretaryship at Stroud, where the Society has not been represented officially for some time.

Congress of Archæological Societies. Membership of the Congress has been resumed and the honorary general secretary attended the meetings held in November last. He has been elected to a seat on the Council of the Congress.

In moving the adoption of the report the President referred to the activities of the Society during the year and especially the success of the joint meeting held in July with the Royal Archæological Institute. The Chairman of Council (Mr. John E. Pritchard, F.S.A.) supported, and spoke of the services of the Hon. General Secretary in connexion with the joint meeting and in other directions.

Proposing the election of Sir Francis H. Crawley-Boevey Bart., as President of the Society for the ensuing year, the Dean made reference to the serious illness and domestic sorrow he experienced during the term of office, and said he should have preferred to have left behind him a better record as their President. He (the Dean) had however the satisfaction that he had made way for one who was well known throughout Gloucestershire and had the interests of the Society at heart.

The newly elected President, in returning thanks for the honour thus conferred upon him, said that as he looked back upon the long list of distinguished presidents he felt that he was unworthy to follow in their footsteps. The membership of the Society had now reached 636, and that showed at least the great and increasing interest there was all over the country in archæology. He thought they had to thank their American friends for this to some extent, for when they visited this country they had the wit and the taste to fully appreciate the many beautiful

and historic things which were to be found in the land, and to which the English had perhaps grown too accustomed.

No part of England was richer in works of historical value than was the county of Gloucestershire, and that made the work of that Society all the more important. He felt that to be one of his proudest moments, in their having elected him as President of the Society.

On the proposition of COLONEL E. B. JEUNE, seconded by Mr. J. S. G. W. STROUD, the following nominations of the Council were adopted.

President, Sir Francis H. Crawley-Boevey, Bart.; *Chairman of Council*, John E. Pritchard, F.S.A.; *Vice-Chairman of Council*, E. Sidney Hartland, LL.D., F.S.A.; *Vice-Presidents*, Sir James Bruton, M.P., W. St. Clair Baddeley, Canon Bartleet, F.S.A., Canon Bazeley, G. M. Currie, The Dean of Gloucester, The Mayor of Gloucester, E. Sidney Hartland, LL.D., F.S.A., Sir Francis A. Hyett, Lt.-Col. Russell J. Kerr, Sir Charles Oman, M.P., F.S.A., John E. Pritchard, F.S.A., E. C. Sewell, J. J. Simpson, Rev. C. S. Taylor, F.S.A., F. W. Waller.

Members of Council (for re-election), A. Baker, L. W. Barnard, J. W. Barnett, Sir F. H. Crawley-Boevey, Bart., Dr. A. C. Fryer, Averay N. Jones, Col. W. F. N. Noel, Rev. C. S. Swynnerton, F.S.A., J. Lee Osborn, F.R.Hist.Soc., Francis Were, E. N. Witchell.

Editor, E. Sidney Hartland, LL.D., F.S.A.; *Treasurer*, H. T. Bruton; *General Secretary and Librarian*, Roland Austin; *Secretary for Bristol*, Wilfrid Leighton.

Local Secretaries, Berkeley, Rev. W. F. D. Curtoys; Cheltenham, Lt.-Col. J. C. Duke; Cirencester, E. C. Sewell; Dursley, R. H. Penley; Fairford, Canon R. S. C. Jones; Lydney, F. S. Hockaday, F.R.Hist.Soc.; Newent, Edward Conder, F.S.A.; Northern, E. A. B. Barnard, F.S.A.; Stroud, Rev. R. J. Burton; Tewkesbury, F. W. Godfrey; Wotton-under-Edge, H. Goldingham.

The Chairman of Council moved that the warm thanks of the Society be accorded to the retiring President. This was seconded by Mr. J. E. Barton and acknowledged by the Dean.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1921.

RECEIPTS.

1921.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
January 1st—Balance				193	12	1
December 31st.						
To Annual Subscriptions—						
1920 (2)	1	1	0			
1921 (530)	278	5	0			
1922 (17)	8	18	6			
1923 (1)	0	10	6			
1924 (1)	0	10	6			
				289	5	6
,, Entrance Fees (57) ...				29	18	6
,, Donations—						
Merchant Venturers' Company	2	2	0			
J. E. Pritchard (for blocks)...	4	4	0			
F. Were	0	10	6			
W. L. Meredith	0	10	0			
				7	6	6
,, Dividends on War Loan ...				32	10	0
,, Sale of *Publications*				11	11	8
,, Surplus, Joint Meeting, 1921				22	0	10
,, Interest on Deposit A/c ...				7	11	2
Forward				£593	16	3

PAYMENTS.

1921.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By *Transactions*, Vol. XLII—									
Printing				196	0	2			
Postage				13	16	2			
Index				10	10	0			
Blocks				16	15	6			
							237	1	10
,, Expenses of Libraries—									
Books...				2	11	0			
Subscriptions to Societies—									
Pipe Roll ...	1	1	0						
Harleian ...	1	1	0						
Cantilupe ...	0	10	6						
Roman Studies...	1	1	0						
Selden	1	1	0						
British Record ...	1	1	0						
				5	15	6			
Insurance				0	14	3			
Binding				11	7	7			
Rent				8	8	0			
							28	16	4
Forward							265	18	2

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS *(continued)*.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Forward	593	16	3
	£593	16	3

PAYMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Forward				265	18	2
By MISCELLANEOUS EXPENSES—						
Typewriter	30	0	0			
Cases for *Transactions* ...	4	11	6			
Printing and Stationery ...	16	9	6			
Postage and Carriage ...	17	12	0			
Travelling Expenses	3	15	7			
Council Meetings	0	17	6			
Purchase of *Transactions* ...	1	6	1			
Subscriptions to Congress of Archæological Societies (2 years)	2	0	0			
Cheques...	0	5	2			
				76	17	4
				342	15	6
,, BALANCES—						
Deposit	207	13	2			
Current	43	7	7			
				251	0	9
				£593	16	3

Audited and found correct.

J. J. SIMPSON.

9th January, 1922.

BALANCE-SHEET, 31ST DECEMBER, 1921.

LIABILITIES.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID IN ADVANCE—						
1922	8	18	6			
1923	0	10	6			
1924	0	10	6			
				9	19	6
LIABILITY IN RESPECT OF 74 LIFE AND 3 HONORARY MEMBERS	not estimated					
SURPLUS, 31ST DECEMBER, 1921				835	16	3
				£845	15	9

ASSETS.

				£	s.	d.
INVESTMENTS—						
£650 5 per cent. War Loan at 91½ ...				594	15	0
LIBRARIES at Bristol and Gloucester, and stock of publications	not estimated					
SUBSCRIPTIONS DUE—Nil.						
CASH AT BANK—						
Deposit Account	207	13	2			
Current ,, ...	43	7	7			
				251	0	9
				£845	15	9

Examined 9th January, 1922.

J. J. SIMPSON.

REPORT OF ITINERARY.

Tuesday, 18th July.

(Plates I-II.)

MALMESBURY ABBEY.

The programme of visits arranged for the meeting was a full one and an early start was made after luncheon for Malmesbury Abbey, which was reached soon after two o'clock. Under the guidance of Mr. HAROLD BRAKSPEAR, F.S.A., who has done so much for the preservation of the Abbey and by his investigations has determined the extent of buildings which have disappeared, the members spent an interesting afternoon. The results of Mr. Brakspear's work has been published in detail in *Archæologia*, lxiv, 399-436. Accounts of earlier visits of the Society are printed in *Transactions*, xvi, 1-5 and xxvi, 1-16.

The following notes, prepared by Mr. Brakspear for the meeting programme, were embodied in the address which he gave in the nave of the Abbey Church.

The earliest Christian settlement at Malmesbury was made about the year 640 by an Irish teacher named Maeldubh, who founded a school and built a church. He was followed by his pupil Aldhelm, who built three churches at Malmesbury and was made Bishop of Sherborne in 705. He died in 709, and was buried at Malmesbury in the church of St. Michael which he had built.

In 1118 Roger, Bishop of Sarum and Chancellor of England, seized the revenues of the abbey and made a castle within the precincts; he died in 1139, and the monastery regained its rights.

It is reasonable to suppose that upon the restitution of the revenue to the monks the great church was begun and certainly not before. The work was started as usual at the east end and continued gradually westward.

King John just before his death gave back to the convent the site of the castle which was thrown into the precinct.

The charnel was founded, and endowed in 1267, to receive the bones disturbed by the eastern extension of the presbytery, the building of which was necessitated by the veneration of the relics of St. Aldhelm.

Abbot William of Colerne (1260-1296) was a great builder and considerably altered and added to the abbey. He built a new abbot's house, remodelled the dorter and chapter house, built a new garner, a bakehouse, a forge, a poor house and stables, a mill, the chapel of St. Aldhelm in the garden, and a new infirmary. In 1284 water-pipes were laid from Newnton at a cost of £100, and water first flowed into the lavatory on St. Martin's Day.

In the fourteenth century the central tower was raised, vaulting put to the transepts and nave and the clerestories remodelled. A square tower was built over the west end of the nave.

In the fifteenth century the cloister was rebuilt.

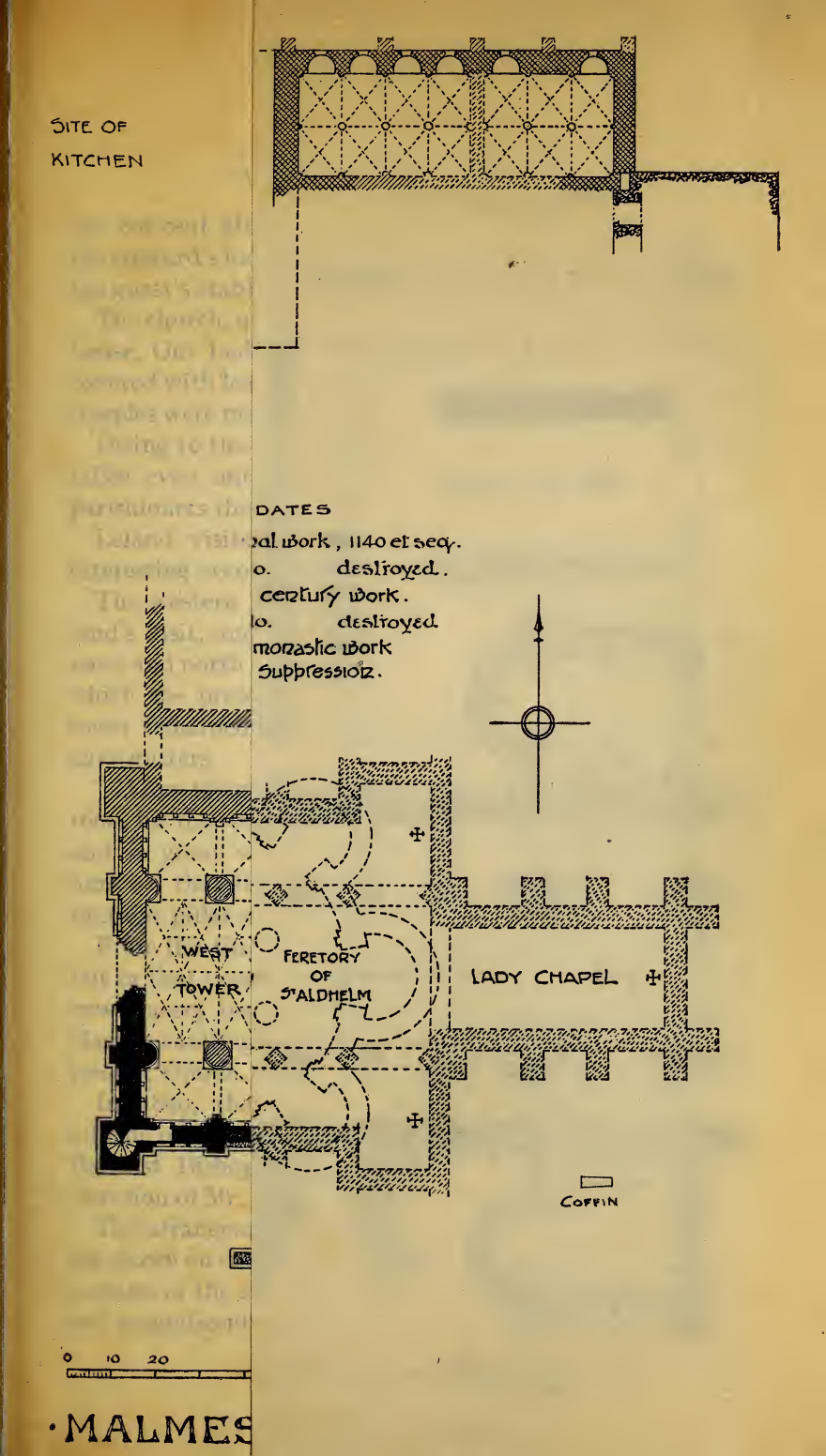
The abbey was surrendered by the abbot and twenty-one monks on 15th December, 1539, and its annual value was £830 : 1 : 3½ clear.

The site of the buildings was committed to Sir Edward Baynton of Bromham. The buildings appointed to remain were:

"The abbot's lodging with the new lodging adjoining, the kitchen, buttery and pantry, with the lodging over the same. The abbot's stable, the wool house and the barn at the spital gate. The gatehouse which encloseth the inner court and the gatehouse which encloseth the outer court."

The buildings appointed to be razed were committed to William Stump, deputy of Sir Edward Baynton, and were:—

"The church, cloister and chapel adjoining. The dormitory, chapter house, frater, barbery, infirmary, with all the lodgings to them adjoining. The cellarer's chamber, the squire's chamber, St. Mary's house, the charnel and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KITCHEN
DATES
al work, 1140 et seq.
o. destroyed.
century work.
o. destroyed
monastic work
suppression.
WEST
TOWER
FERETORY
OF
ST ALDHELM
LADY CHAPEL
COFFIN
0 10 20
·MALMES

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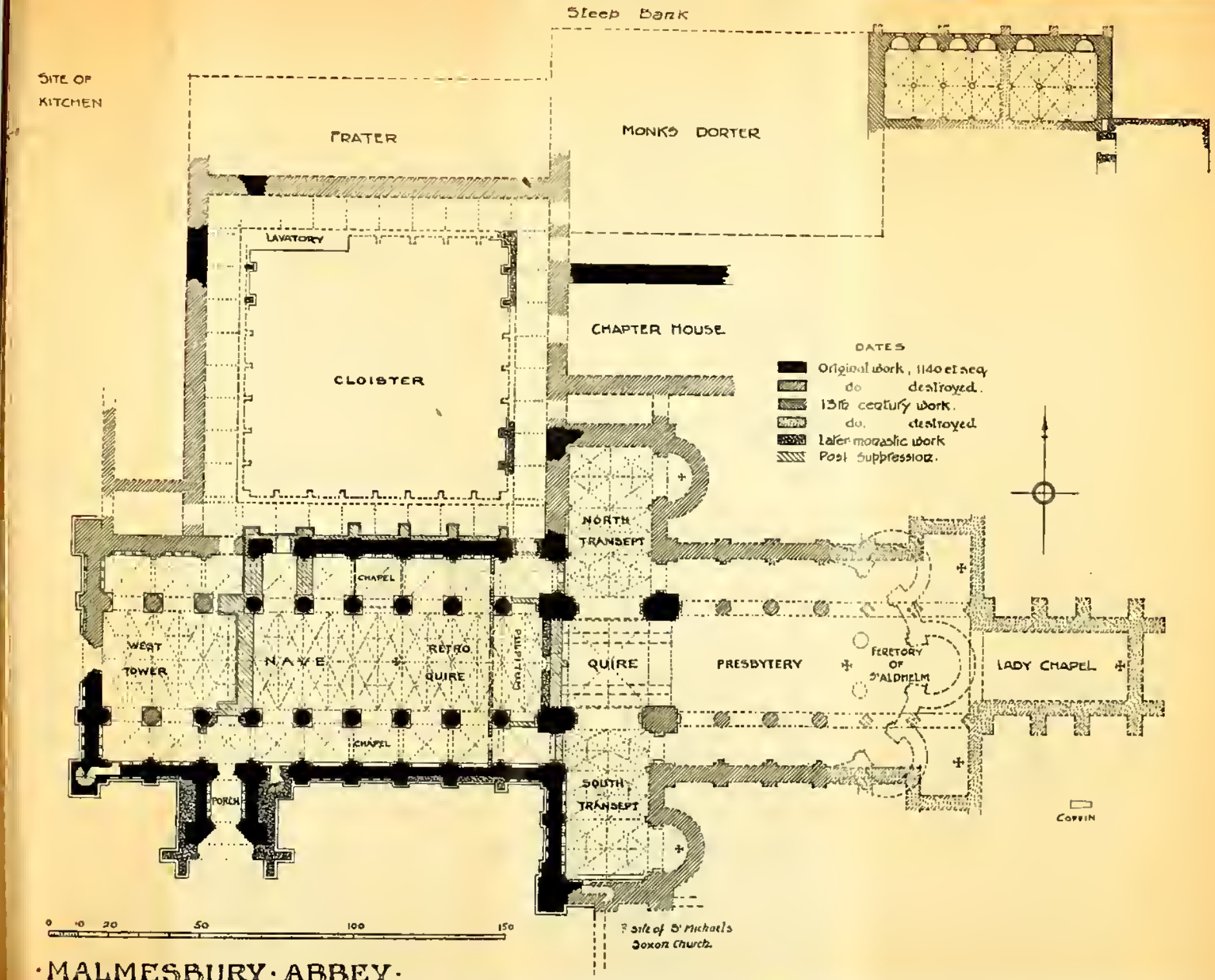
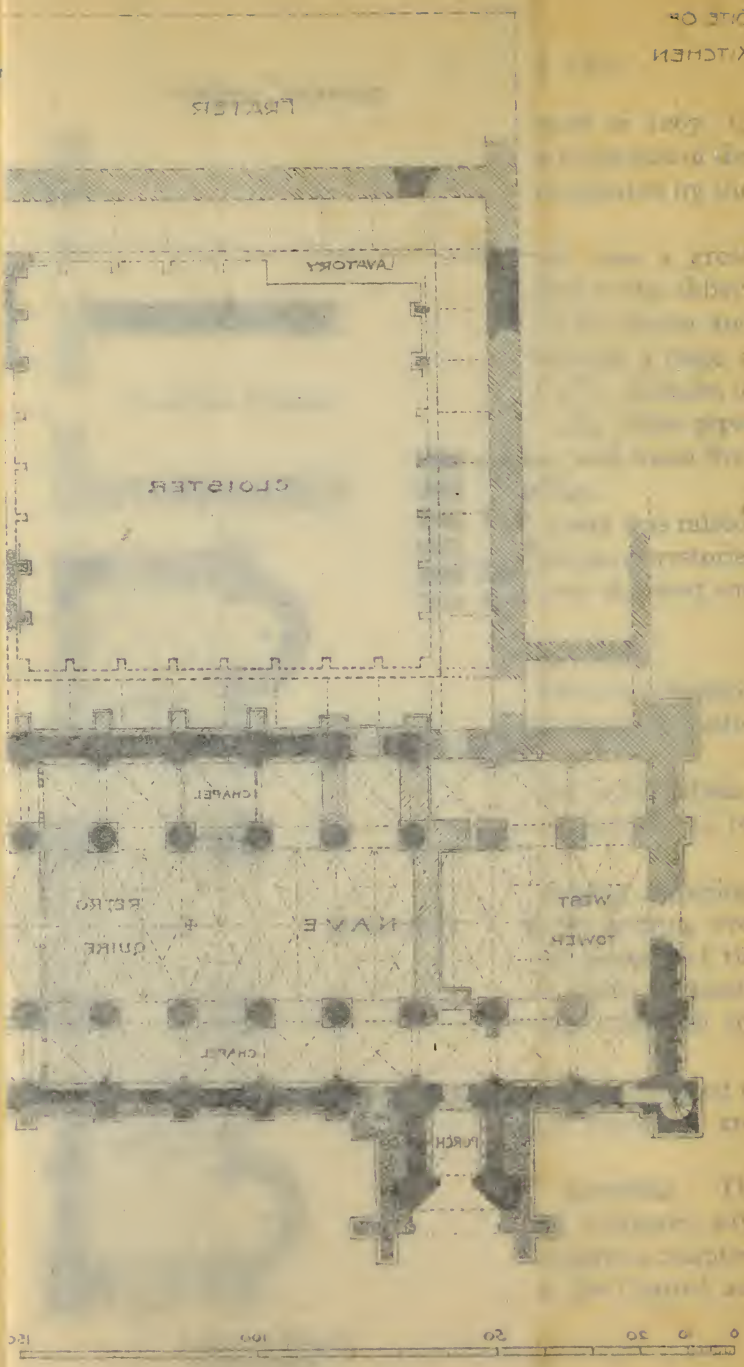


·MALMESBURY·ABBEY·

HAROLD BRAKSPEAR F.S.A. MENS ET DELT.


FRATER
LAVATORY
CLOISTER
CHAPEL
RETRO
QUIRE
NAVE
WEST
TOWER
CHAPEL
PORCH
0
10
20
50
100
150

the convent kitchen. All the houses in the sextry end, the steward's lodging, the store house, the slaughter house, the guest's stable, and all other houses in the outer court."

The church, quire, aisles and steeples, the frater, chapter house, Our Lady's chapel, and the abbot's lodging were covered with lead, which contained 120 foders; and in the steeples were nine bells.

Owing to the fact that "the parish church of St Paul is fallen even unto the ground," William Stump gave the parishioners the nave of the abbey church.

Leland visited the place about 1543, and gives an interesting account of the place.

The western tower must have fallen shortly after Leland's visit, and its fall brought down three bays of the nave and north aisle and five bays of the vaulting. After which the present west end was built up. The central tower remained with its four arches to the height of the nave gutters.

"When the great rejoicing was on the King's birthday, 1660, for the return of King Charles II here were so many and so great vollies of shot by the inhabitants of the hundred that the noise so shook the pillars of the tower that one pillar and two parts above fell down that night."

From this time till 1830 nothing was done to the church, but in that year the present internal fittings were put up, new tracery inserted in the west window, and lath and plaster vaulting put over the two western bays of the present church.

In 1899, the building having become dangerous, a scheme of repair was undertaken through the influence of the last Bishop of Bristol and carried out under the direction of Mr. Harold Brakspear.

The arrangement of the church and principal buildings are shown on the accompanying plan. The present church consists of the six eastern bays of the nave with its aisles and magnificent south porch.

The cloister was on the north side of the nave, and there yet remains the subvault of one of Abbot Colerne's buildings under the present Abbey House. Another building of the same date, apparently a guest house, is incorporated in the Bell Hotel.

The original monastic arrangement of the church so far as can be made out is shown on the plan. There is some interesting heraldry on the inner screen of the *pulpitum*, Mr. F. Were's notes of which are printed in the *Transactions* xxvi, 12-14.

Tiles have been found from time to time in the excavations, and are fully illustrated in Mr. Brakspear's paper in *Archæologia*.

Leaving the church Mr. Brakspear conducted members to the site of the presbytery and other buildings which were destroyed after the surrender in 1539, shown in the plan prepared by him. The party then passed into the grounds of the Abbey House, visited by permission of Captain Mackirdy, which was erected about the middle of the sixteenth century upon the subvault of a building in connexion with the infirmary of the Abbey, and contains an interesting panelled room and a newel staircase with solid oak steps. The Market Cross, built about 1500, and repaired in recent years, was inspected, and some of the members traversed portions of the town walls, which can be followed for nearly the whole of their circuit. In Leland's time there were apparently four gates.

The sites of the west, east and south gates are known, but the north gate is a mystery, as the abbey occupies the whole of the north side. It is just possible Leland called the west gate the north and a small gate leading to Burnivale the west gate. The east gate was destroyed in 1778 by order of the turnpike authorities.

CHARLTON PARK.

After taking tea at the Town Hall, Malmesbury, the

motors were rejoined and a visit made to Charlton Park by invitation of the Countess of Suffolk and Berkshire, in whose absence members were received by Mr. Audrey Hopwood. Charlton House is a Jacobean mansion, the oldest part having been built by Sir Thomas Knyvett. The design is attributed to Inigo Jones. Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk, and Henry, Earl of Suffolk (d. 1799) added to the house. Considerable interest was taken in the picture gallery, where there are numerous portraits of the time of Elizabeth, of Charles I, and Charles II, which are of value both historically and for the study of costume. Among them are the children of Charles I, and of Elizabeth, Countess of Northumberland, by Vandyck; the Earls of Dorset; James I; Queen Elizabeth; Maria d'Este queen of James II, and a particularly impressive one of John Hampden.

Through the kindly thought of Mr. Hopwood arrangements were made for members to regain the motors at a point reached by walking through the gardens, which were seen under perfect conditions of atmosphere and sky.

An evening meeting was held at the Town Hall, Tetbury, when the President delivered his presidential address—"Key-notes on Collecting"—which gave intense enjoyment to those present by reason of its nature, the style of its delivery, and not least the illustrations by the use of board and chalk which indicated a skilled hand familiar with the art of drawing. The address is printed on pp. 55-77.

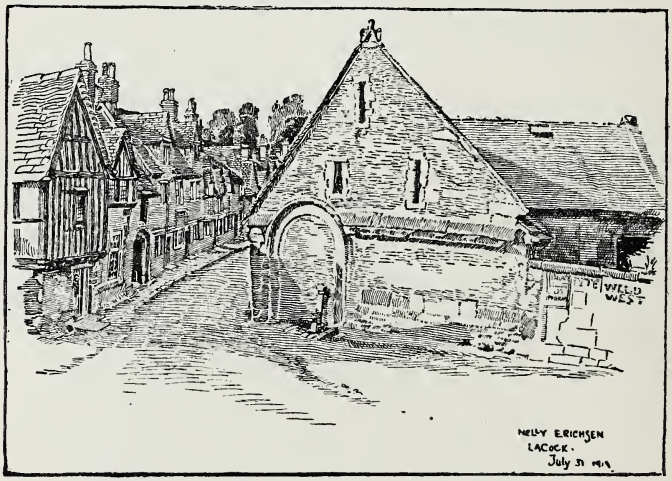
Wednesday, 19th July.

The second day of the meeting offered great attractions and there was a full attendance of members, who left Tetbury early for Lacock, travelling through Malmesbury and Chippenham in very pleasant weather.

LACOCK CHURCH.

At the parish church of St. Cyriac, the Vicar, Rev. Charles R. Gott, and Mr. HAROLD BRAKSPEAR were wait-

ing and the latter gave a short description of the building, which in its original state must have been a magnificent example of ecclesiastical architecture. The late Mr. C. H. Talbot considered that a Norman building once stood on the site but there are no remains in the present church, which is cruciform without central tower, and contains no work earlier than the fourteenth century, the date of the north transept. The south transept and chancel have been rebuilt. The nave is of rich perpendicular of middle fifteenth century.



THE TITHE BARN, LACOCK.

The glory of the church is its chantry chapel on the north of the chancel, dating from the end of the fourteenth century, with elaborate moulded and carved arches and pendant vaulting, which convey some idea of the rich appearance it must have once presented. There is a Renaissance tomb to Sir William Sharington (d. 1553).

In the south transept is a brass with effigies of Robert and Elizabeth Baynard (1501). The sacramental plate includes a fifteenth century covered cup, which it is now thought may have been made for secular purposes.

Time did not permit more than a walk through the village, which has been described as "the most remarkable and the most beautiful" in Wiltshire. The combination of mediaeval ecclesiastical and domestic architecture which may be seen there may well merit such a description. Few places in England present to us so many interesting features—the remains of the Augustinian convent, the fine parish church, a fourteenth century barn, the village cross, and the clusters of timbered and stone-built houses.

LACOCK ABBEY.

This was the first occasion of the Society visiting the Abbey and the anticipations of interest aroused were more than realised. Members were received by Miss Talbot and before entering Mr. BRAKSPEAR gave an outline of the history of the Abbey, which was founded by Ela, Countess of Salisbury, the heiress of the second Earl.The manor was one of the vast possessions of the Norman Earls of Salisbury. Ela founded the houses of Lacock and Hinton Charterhouse (in Somerset), on the same day, 16th May, 1232. Lacock was an abbey for Augustinian Canonesses, and the main buildings were completed between the year of foundation and 1238. In 1240 Ela became the first abbess, she died in 1261 and was buried in the quire of the abbey church.

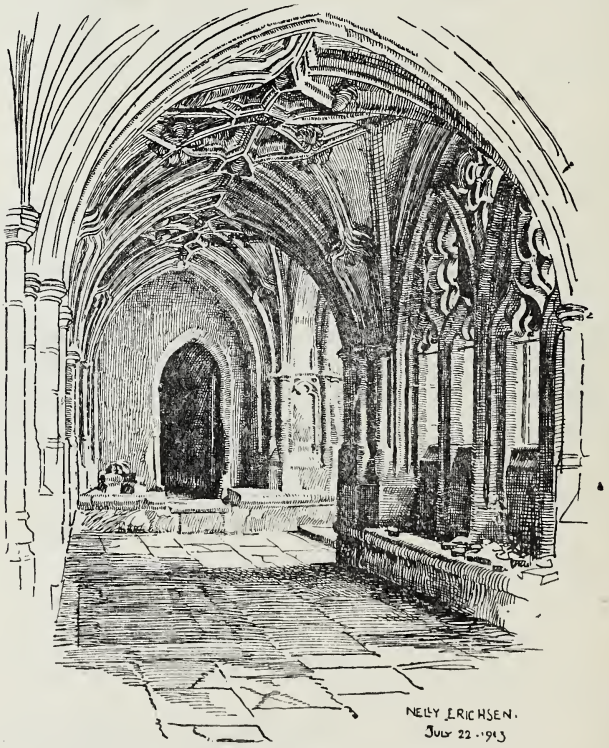
The monastic buildings are situated near the bank of the Avon and, as usual, are grouped round a cloister with the church on the south side.

The church, with the exception of its north wall, has been destroyed, but was aisleless and vaulted into seven bays. On the south side was added a large Lady Chapel in 1315, of which the building agreement is extant.

The east range of the buildings consist of vestry, chapterhouse and warming-house, all vaulted, with the canonesses' Dorter over still retaining a roof of the fourteenth century.

The north range contained the frater over a vaulted cellar and still retains a roof of the fifteenth century.

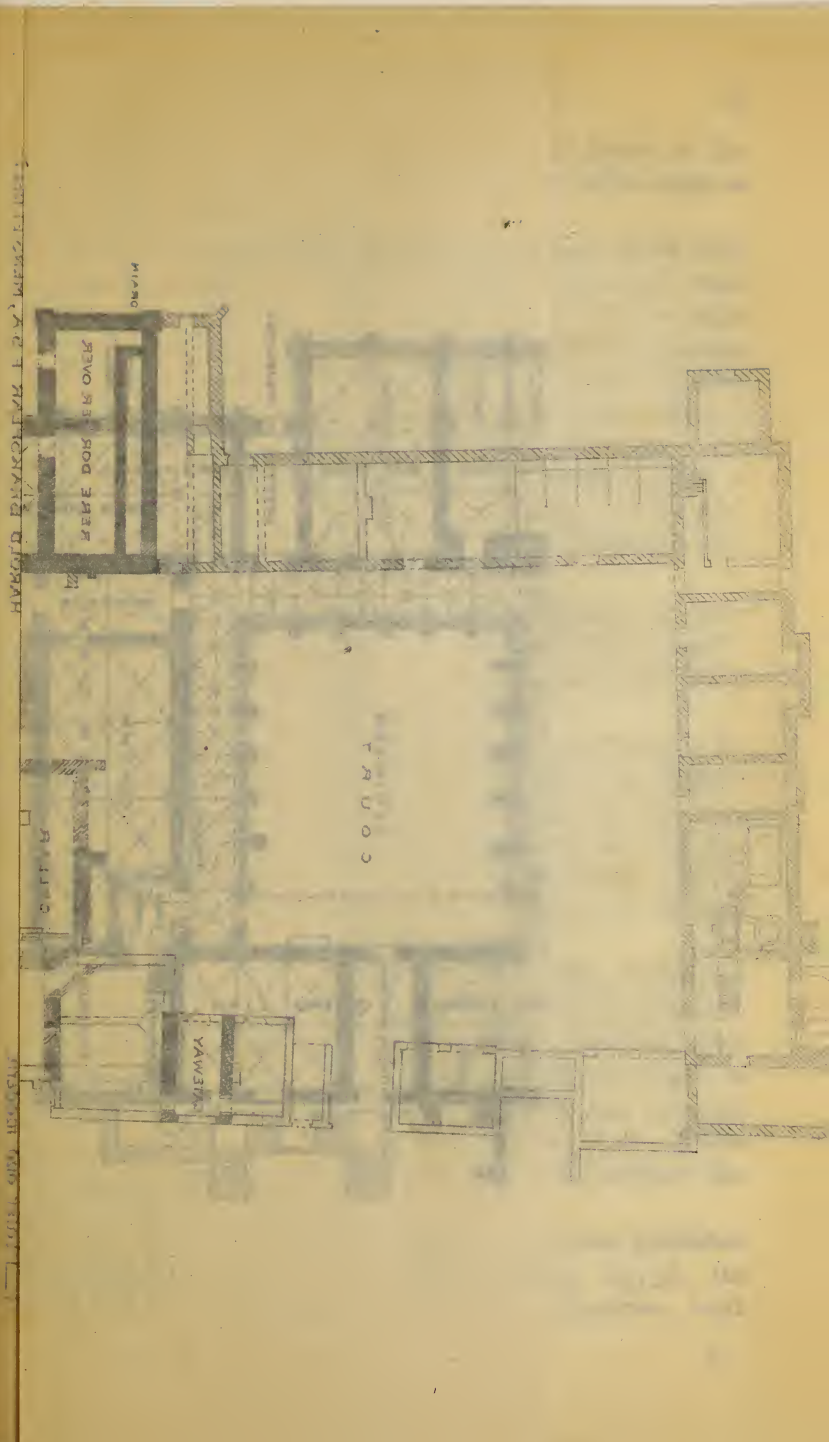
The western range contains three vaulted chambers on the ground floor, but has been much altered above; here were the abbess's lodging and guest hall. The kitchen was at the north-west angle to serve the guest hall and frater.



THE CLOISTERS, LACOCK ABBEY.

The cloister has vaulted alleys on all but the west side. The two western bays of the south walk were built in the fourteenth century and had the abbess's chapel above.

The claustral buildings were converted into a dwelling-house by Sir William Sharington immediately after the Suppression, and his work is quite as interesting as the



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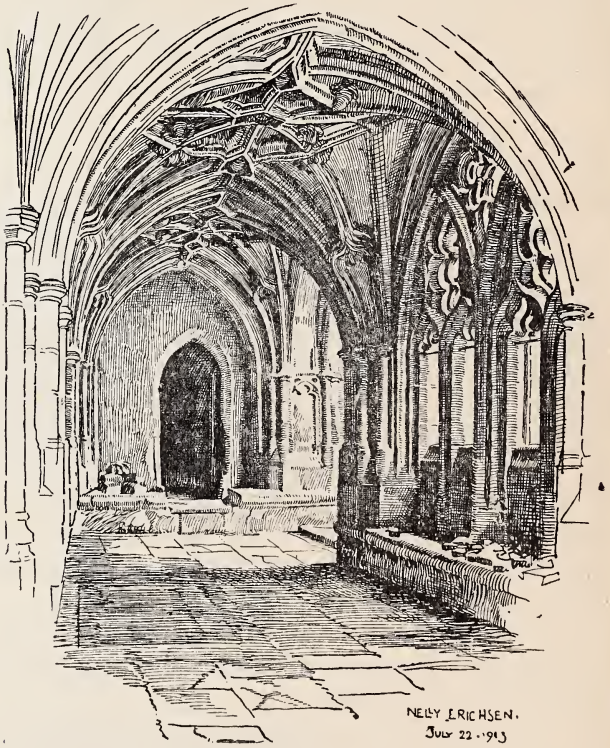

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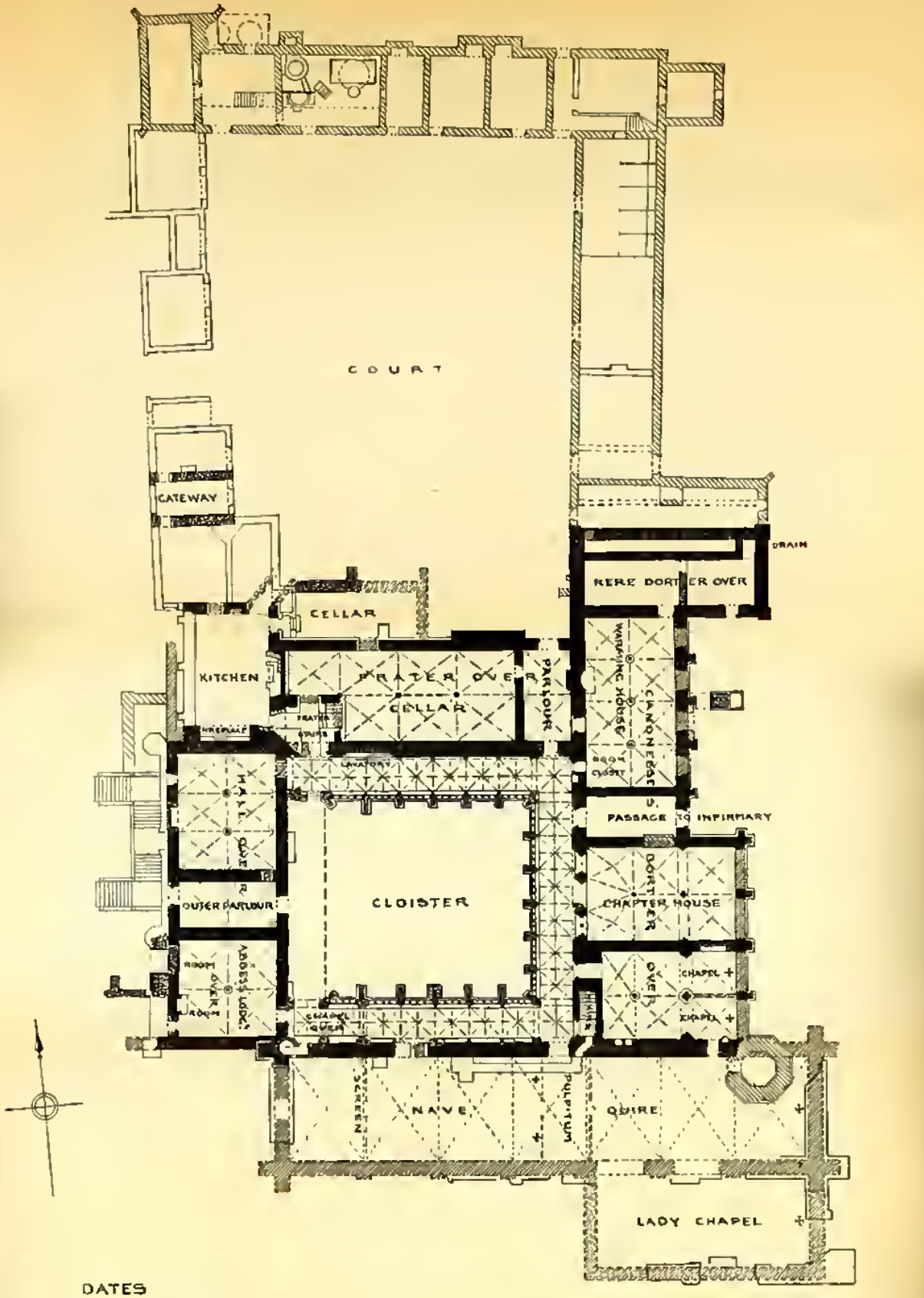

·LACOCK·ABBEY·WILTS·

HAROLD BRAKSPEAR F.S.A., MENS ET DELT.

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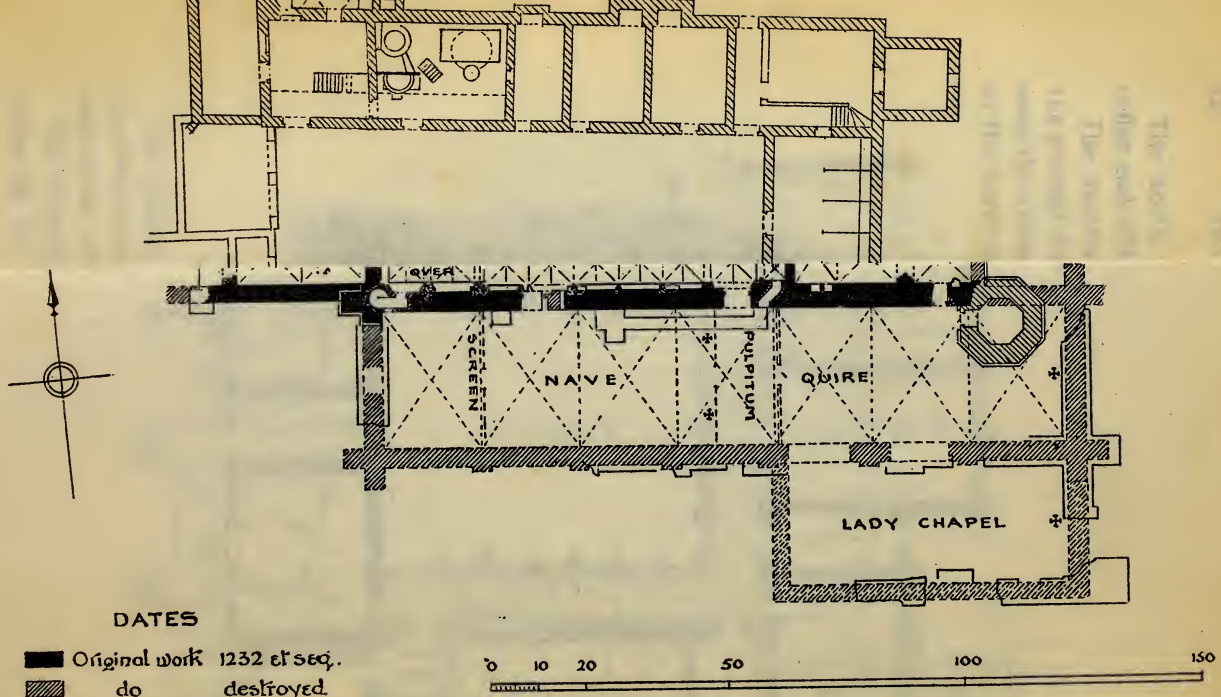

·LACOCK·ABBEY·WILTS·

HAROLD BRAKSPEAR F.S.A., MENS ET DELT.

monastic work. He added the octagonal tower at the south-east corner and built the picturesque stable court on the north of the abbey.

The residential part of the building has been added to by successive members of the Talbot family, who have done much to preserve the architecturel features and to retain its historical associations. There are some good paintings in the living rooms, which include portraits of the Talbots.

An interesting fact in connection with Lacock Abbey is its association with the early days of photography. Mr. Fox Talbot, working independently, succeeded as early as 1835 in taking photographs of the building, and in 1841 his first process, called Calotype and later Talbotype, was patented.

A complete tour of the monastic buildings was then made, Mr. BRAKSPEAR describing each with the complete knowledge which he has gained through prolonged study of their architecture and history.

An inspection was made of the upper apartments, the great hall, and the octagonal tower built by Sir William Sharington. The fourteenth and fifteenth century roof work was also examined with interest, as was the picturesque stable court on the north of the abbey, with its elegant dormer windows, also the work of Sir William Sharington.

Before leaving the PRESIDENT thanked Miss Talbot for inviting the Society to visit the Abbey, with permission to see the residential portion. He also expressed their indebtedness to Mr. Brakspear for adding so much to their enjoyment by the clear and informing way in which he had told them of its history and the uses of the various buildings, and reiterated their thanks for his kindness the previous day at Malmesbury.

Valuable papers on Lacock Abbey have been published by Mr. Brakspear in *Archæologia*, lvii, 125-58, the *Wiltshire Archæological and Nat. Hist. Magazine*, xxxi,

196-240, and *Archæological Journal*, lvii, 1-9.[1] We are indebted to him for the plan published and to Messrs. Macmillan for permission to reproduce the illustrations of the village barn and the abbey cloisters.

Driving on to Calne, luncheon was taken at the Town Hall, and at 2 p.m. the motors left for Avebury, the run over the Wiltshire Downs in such exhilarating weather being much enjoyed.

AVEBURY.

Arriving at the great Earthwork (entered by permission of Mr. J. Peak Garland) members proceeded to the site of the recent excavations undertaken on behalf of the British Association, where Mr. H. St. George Gray, Curator of the Taunton Museum and Assistant Secretary to the Somerset Archæological Society, described the main result of the work which he began in 1908 and had only just completed. The final report of the British Association embodying these results is now in print. In the course of his remarks Mr Gray said:—

Lord Avebury had rated Avebury as as much exceeding Stonehenge as a cathedral does a parish church. Another point was that because the stones at Avebury are rough and unhewn they must be very much earlier than Stonehenge. For 21 years he had been considerably interested in stone circles, particularly those that had an encircled earthwork. Avebury was by far the largest of this kind in the kingdom. The question whether the position of circles was determined by natural topographical aspects of the country or by abstruse calculations on the solar system was a matter which had evoked considerable discussion, and had engaged the closest attention of a few observers, including the late Sir Norman Lockyer. The attempt to determine the age of stone circles from astronomical data reached a notable stage when it was found that the date obtainable by the investigations of Lockyer and Penrose with regard to Stonehenge practically coin-

[1] See also papers by C. H. Talbot, *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, N.S. xi (1905), 175—210, and H. A. Tipping, *Country Life*, 3, 10, 17 March, 1923.

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cided with the evidence of data obtained in the important though not extensive, excavations which took place there at the beginning of the century. Then, in recent years in addition to the observance or worship of the sun, stars or hills in connection with stone circles in Britain, scientists had been trying to ascertain their religious significance, and their claims, or otherwise, to be regarded as places of worship or sacrifice. They had also been studied with a view to classify them as sepulchral or non-sepulchral. Yet another study in connection with circles had formed the subject of scientific papers, viz., the manner in which early man made observations and measurements in selecting sites for his circles, and how he decided upon the form and arrangement of the megaliths chosen for their construction. In points of size and grandeur Avebury stood out prominent among the ancient monuments of Great Britain. At the same time it was very difficult to realise what Avebury and its appendages were when at the height of their glory. The monument had been terribly mutilated, and the vandalism must have gone on for many years to have caused the destruction of no less than 95 per cent. of the stones, which were originally over 650. Drawings had been found recently which seemed distinctly to prove that an avenue did exist in the direction of Calne—the Beckhampton Avenue. Of the Kennet Avenue there were remains of about 19 stones, and 11 of them in one group, and it seemed to have extended for some 1½ miles. Mr. Gray pointed out that at Avebury the acreage within the vallum was 28½ acres, and many of the stones had been smashed and used for building purposes.

The size of the stones forming the circle was enormous. One of the few left measures 17 feet long, 7 feet 7 inches wide, and 2 feet 4 inches thick. Another is 13 feet 10 inches long by 18 feet wide and 5 feet 6 inches thick. Of the 650 said to have completed the circle 15 remain upright, 12 lie flat, and 18 are known to lie buried.

The dates assigned to Prehistoric monuments must necessarily be approximate only.

A succession of distinguished archæologists have studied the problem of Avebury. From Aubrey (1663), Stukeley (1724), Sir Richard Colt Hoare (1819), William Long (1857), down to the present time, the site has been the subject of continuous speculation, and yet much remains to be solved.

An interesting communication on the Avebury circles was published in *The Times* of 14th August, 1922, from which the following extracts are taken.

Thirteen men were employed last April [1922] in the re-excavation of the great fosse at Avebury (the fosse is inside, the *vallum* outside), on the east side of the Kennet Causeway, or southern ancient entrance of Avebury, which was proved in 1909. Not only were the solid chalk escarp and counterscarp of the fosse exposed, but the whole of the solid termination of the fosse, forming the eastern face of the causeway. This immense fosse had been partly re-excavated in 1914, when owing to danger to children and animals, it had to be fenced in, and it was only during the spring that this work could be completed. During the time which had elapsed a large amount of talus had formed. It was intended to measure this with a view of determining at about what rate these chalk ditches silted up from natural causes; but the value of calculations was greatly lessened, for during the interval of eight years the villagers found the " hole " an attractive dump for their broken crockery, worn-out domestic utensils and rubbish. It took the greater part of the first week to remove the rubbish and the eight years' accumulation of silting.

The dimensions of the fosse in this position proved to be enormous. The width at top was 35½ feet; at bottom from 8 feet to 14 feet; depth from the brink of the fosse (at the causeway end) to its bottom, 30¼ feet; depth from

the top of the ancient causeway to bottom of fosse, 35¾ feet; vertical measurement from the crest of the adjacent *vallum* to the floor of the fosse, 55½ feet. The lower part of the "walls" of the ditch near the causeway was very steep, but the most extraordinary feature of construction was the unevenness of the bottom-floor, which, in the length of 25½ feet exposed this season, rose from west to east to the extent of 7½ feet. In the five fosse cuttings made at Avebury since 1908 the floor varied in level to the extent of 11½ feet, and there was a gradual rise from west to east.

The floor of the fosse was again found to be strewn with picks, hammers, levers, &c., of red-deer antler, but no prehistoric pottery was found at a greater depth than 6½ feet, the Roman remains ceasing at 3¾ feet below the surface. The prehistoric pottery this season was confined to fragments of the beaker or drinking-vessel type, the first pottery of the kind found in the Avebury fosse; but other pottery of the West Kennet and Peterborough types has previously been found in appreciable quantity at a level corresponding exactly with that in which the beaker pieces were found this season. There is probably little difference in the date of these wares, and although the vessels with round bottoms, such as have been found at Peterborough, Mortlake, etc., are probably older as a type it is now regarded as proved that the manufacture of this class of pottery overlapped to some extent with the earliest types of beaker pottery. It is interesting to recall here the discovery of a human skeleton with fragments of a beaker close to and immediately in front of the hole in which the stone "Adam" stood at the west end of the Beckhampton Avenue, in the parish of Avebury, (*Wilts Arch. Mag.*, xxxviii, 1-7). Just before the close of the excavations this season three buried stones of the northern inner circle were rediscovered. They were

uncovered, planned, and buried again, according to the wishes of the owner.

The total absence of metals in the silting of the fosse and in the *vallum* cutting (1914) affords strong negative evidence of date. The persistence of tools of stone, antler and bone, including flint implements, antler picks, hammers, rakes, and levers, bone shovels and other worked bones at least strongly suggests Neolithic date.

The evidence too, of Neolithic date is greatly strengthened by the discovery of a representative collection of fragments of prehistoric pottery, some of types which have yet to be compared more closely with similar pottery, in the light of recent discoveries elsewhere. When the Avebury excavations began in 1908 comparatively little was known as to the details which afforded a clue in dividing Neolithic from early Bronze Age pottery.

AVEBURY CHURCH.

At the parish church the Vicar, the Rev. J. G. Ward, welcomed the Society and described the main features of interest.

The Church of St. James stands just outside the rampart of the earthwork, and though it has suffered at the hands of the restorer there is interesting work remaining, especially of Saxon date. The Saxon nave had four windows on each side, unglazed and fitted with shutters on the outside, with small circular openings also unglazed high up in the clerestory. North and south aisles were added in the twelfth century, two arches being cut through the Saxon wall on each side with a pier of seven feet of wall left between them. In 1828 these Norman arcades gave way to the present arches, and when these were cut out the original Saxon wall over them was left undisturbed and in it were found three curious circular clerestory openings, one of which was not moved, though the others were taken down before their nature was discovered and later replaced in the modern clerestory windows. A row of holes which

runs round the edges of these circular openings is regarded by one authority as meant to hold sticks for a wattlework centre on which the splay of flint rubble might be turned.

One of the original Saxon lower windows remains intact on each side at the west end of the nave, showing in each case the angle shafts of the responds and part of the labels of the twelfth century cutting into the earlier Saxon work. Quoins of long and short work may be seen at the west end of the north aisle.

The chancel is early fourteenth century and the tower about 1450. The rood loft is about the same date.

Mr. Gray added a few words in reference to the font, which is illustrated in *Transactions*, xxx, 47.

This tub font (probably intended for immersion) is Saxon in character, with Norman ornamentation of the first quarter of the 12th century. By some the bowl is regarded as Saxon of about A.D. 900, the carving being added later.

The figure of a bishop, facing the west end of the church, is said to have a mitre, almost completely obliterated; a staple now occupies the position of the nose, and, no doubt, the chain for the plug of the font was fixed here, and has played havoc with the bishop's features for several centuries. He holds a book to his heart with his left hand, and a crozier in his right hand, with which he is "bruising" the head of a dragon or serpent, which in its turn is bruising his heels (Genesis iii, 15). Above, a vulture, ready to devour the dragon, is faintly seen. There is also a dragon on the bishop's left side, but this is in undisputed possession, as no crozier or vulture is there to stay its proceedings. The dragons' tails become blended with the foliage which surrounds the upper parts of the other sides of the font. The ornamentation of the lower part consists of an encircling arcade of intersecting semi-circular arches springing from columns with cushion capitals, which is

typical of the period, and may be seen on the church fonts at Sculthorpe (Norfolk), Alphington (Devon), Corfe and West Camel (Somerset).

The symbolism of the Avebury font may represent the fall of man, and the initial recovery of his lost estate through the washing of the water of baptism.

THE MANOR HOUSE.

Avebury Manor House has been visited on a former occasion but its owners, Lt. Col. L. C. D. Jenner, C.M.G., D.S.O., and Mrs. Jenner again extended an invitation to see their beautiful residence and grounds. The Manor House has been the subject of illustrated articles in *Country Life* (30th April and 7th May, 1921).

The first builder at Avebury Manor is considered to be William Dunche, auditor to the Mint in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, who was held in high esteem by Queen Elizabeth, receiving an appointment from her as a squire extraordinary. The present east wing (containing drawing room, entrance hall, and kitchen) of the house was probably built by him about the middle of the sixteenth century; the south end was altered in 1601. He died in 1577, and was succeeded by his son Walter; the latter's widow lived at the manor after his death in 1594 and eventually married Sir James Mervyn, whose initials are carved over the south porch. Sir James added to the house, which passed to Sir John Stavel, in whose time John Aubrey, the antiquary, first became acquainted with Avebury. Sir Richard Holford purchased it, and his family and that of the Jones' (through Arthur Jones, half-brother of Stayner Holford, d. 1767) held it until recent years, when Colonel Jenner acquired the freehold.

Under Colonel Jenner's care the house has been carefully treated, so as to present a very perfect type of an Elizabethan residence. The interior and its fine furniture

AVEBURY STONES.

MANOR HOUSE, AVEBURY. THE SOUTH FRONT.

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proved a source of pleasure to our members. The latter has been gathered with discrimination, and some fine pieces of seventeenth century upholstered workmanship were seen. The gardens are a development of the care and thoughtful planning of former days, which has been continued by the present owners.

SILBURY HILL.

After tea at the Red Lion Hotel, the return journey to Tetbury was begun by way of Silbury Hill, where a halt was made and Mr. St. George Gray gave a short account of the attempts which have been made to find a solution for its existence.

The great Mound at Silbury, said to be the largest artificial earthwork in Europe, is some 130 feet high and covers a base of five acres, and in spite of more than one attempt, has not yielded up its secret. The base measures in circumference 1657 feet, with a diameter of 552 feet. It has been held to be the burial place of some royal personage, and Dr. Stukeley states that various objects were found in excavating in 1723. The late Sir William Hope thought it was not later than Norman age, while others assign it to the period of the Roman occupation, but here again the problem cannot be settled. Excavations have been made in 1777 and 1849; and by our member, Mr. Pass, in 1886, without any definite result. The earthwork lies close to the Roman road from Bath to Marlborough.

Detailed accounts of Silbury by Rev. A. C. Smith are printed in his *Antiquities of N. Wiltshire* (1885), pp. 151-4, and in *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, vii, 145-91, xi, 113-18.

Thursday, 20th July.

The last day of the meeting involved a long tour, including visits in Wiltshire, Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire. Leaving Tetbury shortly before 9-30, the first stop was at Cricklade, where the Vicar, Rev. Dr. S. W. L.

Richards, welcomed the members to the parish church of St. Sampson.

CRICKLADE CHURCH.

The principal portion of the church dates from the fifteenth century, when great alterations were made and most of the thirteenth century work destroyed. The eastern arcades of the nave show the earliest work, the western arcade being rather later. The south aisle is modern, the north mostly fourteenth century. Here there is an effigy, long exposed in the churchyard and consequently much worn. The chancel is fourteenth century. The transepts have been much altered; the south transept has been buttressed at its south-east angle. The tower is middle sixteenth century and a fine example of its period. The inner portion was entirely rebuilt about this time, and is of interest owing to the badges which were carved in every possible place.

On entering the north door two fragments of carved stone, possibly tenth century, will be seen. They are figured in the *Wiltshire Arch. and N. H. Magazine*, xxvii, 52, and described by the late Mr. J. Romilly Allen, who points out that the knot work on the smaller stone presents some remarkable peculiarities. The bands are very wide and flat, unrelieved by double-beading, so that the work looks rude and coarse. The spaces between the knots in the middle, and between the knots and the border at the top and bottom are ornamented with circular pellets. This is not a common practice. The pattern is composed of a single spiral knot in the middle and two terminal knots at the top and bottom. This stone is no doubt a part of a sepulchral slab, and the other is thought to be a piece of the shaft of a cross.

There are the remains of two crosses in the churchyard, both of fifteenth century date. The richer and more complete one was formerly a market or village cross, and was removed to its present position; it has an octagonal

shaft and base, with quatrefoil panels on the sides of the latter. The head is an oblong on plan—each of the sides has a double canopied niche, and each end a single one—all the figures are missing. There are buttresses at the angles supported by angels holding shields, the pinnacles are broken away. There are only the plain base and part of the stem of the original churchyard cross left, near the north entrance to the Church.

Time did not allow a visit to the interesting little church of St. Mary's and the journey was therefore continued to

INGLESHAM.

Those members who were there twenty-three years before renewed their acquaintance with peculiar interest, while to those who saw this remarkable church for the first time it came as a revelation of an absolutely "unrestored" building, so little known that it escaped mention in Murray's handbook to Wiltshire, was not noticed by J. H. Parker, and has been passed in these more recent days by Edward Hutton. The present Dean of Winchester refers to the church as follows:—

> There is hardly such another church perhaps in the land. It looks as if it had not been touched since Queen Anne sat on the throne.

The Hon. General Secretary referred to the valuable report drawn up by the late Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite when advising the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings as to the condition of the church. The work of reparation was carried out by the Society in the most careful way and few churches in the country can show such interesting features. Mr. Micklethwaite's report is not easy to obtain now and the following extracts from it are therefore given.

"The building is very small, the total length inside being only 49 feet and the width across nave and aisles only 36 feet. It consists of a nave of two bays and a

chancel, with aisles to the nave, that on the south side being continued eastward for half the length of the chancel. There is a large porch on the south side, and a good bell gable for two bells at the west end.

"There was probably a church on or near this spot before the twelfth century, but nothing remains to tell of its form. The present one was begun about the end of that century, and the whole plan, except the eastern part of the south aisle and porch, is of that time. The south arcade of the nave, the pillar of the north arcade, the lower part of the north wall of the chancel, and the south aisle door, seem to be all of the earliest work; and there is no appearance of any part having been made fit for use before the chancel received its present east and south windows and roof, at least half a century after it was begun. It seems likely that the older church was on a different site and was in use while this was in building.

"The completion of the nave and aisles seems to have followed that of the chancel, and so the church stood until late in the fifteenth century, when the aisle walls were raised and flat roofs put to them, and new windows were inserted. The south aisle was lengthened eastward, and an arch made from it to the chancel.

"The porch is quite plain, and its flat-arched entrance gives it at first sight a modern look; but the niche in the gable seems to be of the fourteenth century, and the walls may be of that date; the doorway having been altered because the rise of the ground made the old one too low.

"Looked at in detail, the work is for the most part very good. The carved caps of the nave, the bell gable, the earlier and later windows of the chancel, and its roof, are all excellent of their sort. The chancel roof is an unusually early example, if it be, as I think it is, of the thirteenth century. It is of plain trussed rafters, and the eastern half over the sanctuary has a boarded ceiling with light transverse ribs. Its wall plate cuts into the

inner arches of the early windows on the north side; but it does not seem that there was ever a roof there fitted to them. The present one fits the east and south windows, and I think that they who had the finishing of this chancel cut down the north windows which they found, because they thought that they would make it too high. Even now it is very high in proportion to its size.

"There is some good furniture in the church. The eastern halves of the nave aisles have been screened off to form chapels, and the screens remain, all except the western one on the north side being in good condition. A good fifteenth century font stands at the west end of the north aisle, but I am not sure that that is its original position. The rood screen is gone, but its cill remains, and perhaps there may be more buried in later fittings. A good pulpit and canopy of about 1630 stand in the north-east corner of the nave, and seem to have been made for that place, although an hour glass stand of about the same date is fixed on the north pillar some distance away. On the same side are three good pews contemporary with the pulpit, and remains of others are worked into more modern pewing on the south side. Two large pews in the chancel, and the altar of the same work, appear to be of the time of Charles II.

"The old floor levels generally remain, and there are some grave stones, of which the most important is a marble slab in the chancel, 10 feet long and 3 feet 6 inches broad, with casements of a fine brass, with figure of a knight of the later part of the fourteenth century.

"Some traces of colour appear in places through the whitewash, but I did not see any older than the seventeenth century; and there are inscriptions painted on the walls, but coarsely done in comparatively modern times.

"Several of the windows have fragments of painted glass in their upper parts, and that on the south side of the chancel has the circle in its head filled with the original

glazing of the thirteenth century, decayed, but otherwise perfect.

"A very curious piece of sculpture is built into the south aisle wall. It is in low relief, and represents our Lord, as it were, enthroned on the lap of His mother, holding a book in His left hand, and blessing with His right; and above is the hand of the Father in benediction. The stone is imperfect and not in its original position, and a sun dial of the rude mediaeval type has been cut in one part of it before it was set here. I take it to be earlier than any part of the existing church, and it may have formed part of the tympanum of the south door of an earlier one.

"To the south of the church stands a churchyard cross of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, the steps, base, and shaft quite perfect, the head only being lost."

LECHLADE.

An early lunch was taken at the New Inn Hotel, Lechlade, where members were joined by CANON W. H. T. WRIGHT (Rector of Eastleach Martin and Eastleach Turville), who became their guide for the remainder of the afternoon, and the Rev. R. G. P. Brownrigg, Vicar of Lechlade, with whom they visited the parish church.

The Church of St. Lawrence, at Lechlade, appears to have been erected about the year 1470, in the time of the Vicar, Conrad Ney, the main expense having been borne by the neighbouring Augustinian Priory of St. John the Baptist, a possession, together with the manor of Lechlade, of the then powerful Hales Abbey. Records point to the existence of a previous church, certainly as early as the year 1255, but no definite traces of this remain, though there is little doubt that it occupied the site covered by the present building. This, on its foundation, was named in honour of the Virgin Mary, but in 1502, at the request of Queen Catherine of Arragon, then Lady of the Manor, it was re-dedicated to St. Lawrence, doubtless

the favourite, because the native saint of the Spanish Queen.

The church, which is built of Taynton stone, is constructed on the usual Perpendicular plan, comprising chancel with side-chapels, nave with clerestory and aisles, a north porch, and "a pratie pyramis of Stone at the West End." The latter, a handsome specimen of enriched Perpendicular work, is crowned by a graceful hexagonal spire, said to have been added towards the end of the sixteenth century. The windows of the aisles have reticulated tracery characteristic of an earlier period, but the clerestory is obviously a later edition, as also are the Tudor north, south and west doorways, together with the east and west windows. The chancel is capped by an openwork parapet of considerable beauty, and on the east gable of the nave appears a mutilated sanctus bellcote. Above the chancel gable a central finial takes the form of a niche containing the figure of St. Lawrence, with book and gridiron, erected at the re-dedication in 1502, which doubtless also gives the date of the other late additions. The north side of the church, on which is a vestry opening from the chancel, has a large disused porch, with perfectly flat roof, simply groined.

Internally the tower is completed with the usual vaulting, and pinned against the lower walls are several curious old leads, taken from the nave roof, on which are recorded the dates of various repairs. The original roof of the nave was destroyed by fire early in the sixteenth century, and the present one is contemporary with the clerestory, and still retains its ancient timbers, carefully restored. The font is a richly panelled specimen of early Perpendicular work, standing on a modern base. Above it, in a pier of the south-west arcade, is a large canopied niche, evidently designed to hold an image.

The eastern limits of the nave and aisles are determined by a triplet of arches, each of which bears the

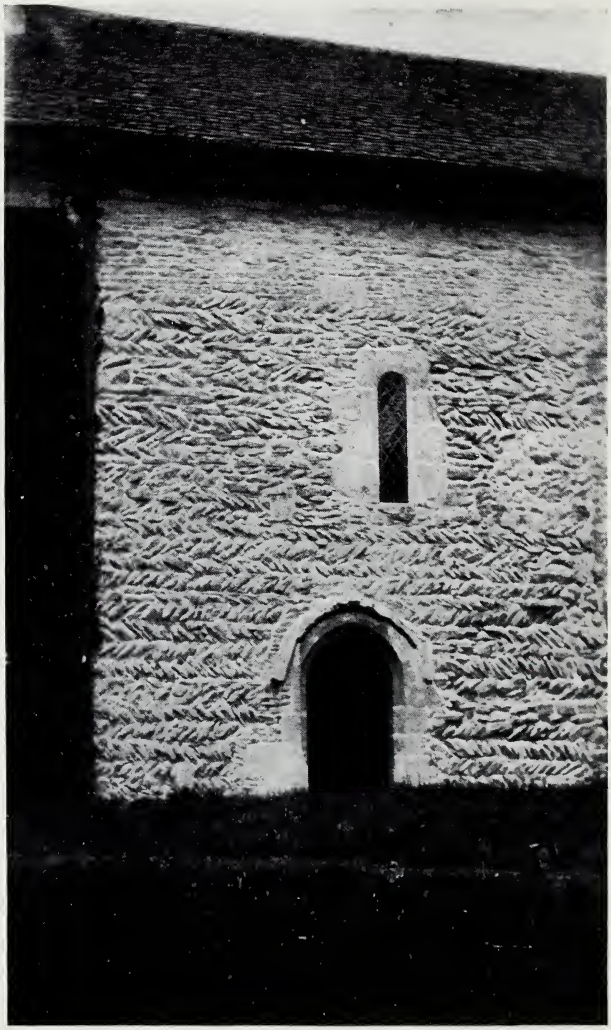
marks of former screens; in the north are the doorways and stairs by which approach was given to the rood loft. The floor of the north aisle contains a memorial brass thought to represent a local wool-merchant, John Townsend, and his wife, who died in 1455. A somewhat similar brass in the south aisle retains the male figure only, and is identified with "one John Twynhoe." Both brasses are described in Davis's *Monumental Brasses*, pp. 52-54, 109-10. The chantry altar stood here, outside the rood screen, and further altar space was provided by the continuation of the aisle beyond this line of demarcation. The north chancel aisle, now occupied by the organ, was formerly the Lady Chapel, but no signs of piscina or almery are there visible. In the nave stands a handsome stone pulpit of recent construction, but the base is ancient, apparently dating from the fourteenth century.

The chancel arch is spanned by a modern screen but in the chancel are a number of fine stone corbels supporting the ancient roof, which has elaborately carved bosses. Two almeries and a piscina have been preserved in the south wall, the latter evidently at one time an object of considerable richness, but subsequently defaced by the hand of Puritan iconoclasts. A crocketted and embellished doorway leads into the vestry and is happy in retaining a handsome original door, with prodigious lock and key.

SOUTHROP.

From Lechlade a short drive brought members to Southrop Church, of which Canon Wright is vicar, and its architecture was carefully examined under his guidance.

The oldest remaining portion of the fabric, that is the nave, is composed almost entirely of herring-bone masonry a method usually associated with Saxon construction, though examples have been found even in late Norman buildings. Here at Southrop the stones are of fair size, and laid with great regularity, contrasting strongly with



SAXON "HERRING-BONE" WORK
South Wall of Nave, Southrop Church.

Photograph by L. Goodenough Taylor, Esq.

Facing Page 49.

the rude rubble formation of the Saxon herring-bone work at Duntisbourne Rouse. At a comparatively late period the nave walls were raised, a process which resulted in the western double bellcote being so completely built around as to become incorporated with the masonry of the new gable. The south side contains one original window. The transept has in its west wall a small rectangular opening, deeply splayed externally, which probably served as a low-side window for this chapel, though its occurrence in the south wall would have been more usual. The chancel is entirely Early English, with contemporary priests' doorway, low-side window and stringcourse, but a quatrefoil opening which pierces the east gable is said to be modern. On the north, the nave exhibits one original window and a pseudo-Norman double light, corresponding to another modern insertion on the south side. The Perpendicular porch has above its entrance an empty niche, no doubt intended for an image of St. Peter, to whom the church is dedicated, while the inner doorway with its billeted-hood-mould, tympanum enriched with lozenge diapering and jamb-shafts with voluted capitals, presents a characteristic late Norman feature.

The font (illustrated in *Transactions*, xxxvi, p. 132) is late Transitional Norman. The upper part of the bowl is covered by a band of extremely rich ornamentation, distinctly Norman, and beneath is an arcade of eight trefoiled arches, five of which contain figures carved in bold relief (typifying the five virtues), trampling upon and destroying hideous monsters (the five vices), while three additional figures are symbolic of Moses, the Christian Church, and the Synagogue, the latter in a condition of somnolence and collapse. The names of the virtues are carved in Latin above the arches, while those of the vices appear beside each figure written backwards.

The transept contains no unusual features, beyond a

few pieces of ancient glass and the low-side window already noted. The chancel arch is of plain, early Norman type on massive piers with moulded abaci, one having lozenge and the other double-cable ornament. The wall on either side—as at Broughton Poggs—is provided with a (modern) squint, and on the south side of the arch, placed at a considerable height, is a rectangular opening with a ceiling of pierced quatrefoils, a rare and interesting reminder of the ancient rood-loft, from which this squint and almery combined would have afforded a view of the high altar.

The north wall contains three almeries and the south two interesting piscinae, one in the form of an Early English capital with a band of cable moulding beneath, formerly supported on a slender shaft, the other a later four-lobed basin, set with a richly moulded trefoiled recess. The latter would have been inserted at the time when an elaboration of ritual directed that the washings from the chalice and the priest's hands should be carried away down separate drains.

Miss Ida M. Roper contributes the following note supplementing the account of the effigies in the church published in the *Transactions*, xxxi, 75-77.

Since the description of these effigies was printed, the following additional particulars have been supplied by Miss A. E. Conway of Maidstone, about the life of her ancestor. The figures no doubt represent Thomas Conway esq., thought to have died in 1606, and his wife.

Thomas Conway appears to have been a successful courtier in attendance at the difficult Court of Queen Elizabeth, in whose good graces he managed to keep for a number of years as one of her Gentlemen Ushers. He may have had good examples to encourage him, because in 1516 and 1526 there is mention of Richard Conway of Cornwall being a Gentleman Usher Extraordinary in the household of Henry VIII; and also John Conway was

appointed in 1545 to be a Gentleman Pensioner at £45 13s. 4d. per annum in the household of the same King,[1] and these gentlemen may have been his ancestors.

The time of his wife's death is not known, but from her costume the effigy is likely to have been erected about 1590 or earlier, which may suggest the date of her death.

In 1586 a lease in reversion of the manor of Southrop was granted to Thomas Conway, one of Her Majesty's Gentleman Ushers for 31 years past, without fine in consideration of his services.[2] Rudder[3] makes Thomas Conway a knight, but he is not known to have received that honour.

Following on Thomas Conway becoming Lord of the Manor of Southrop in 1586, several appointments held by a person of the same name can be traced, although it is not quite certain they refer to the same individual. In 1588 the office of the Butlership of the Port of London with the accustomed fees was granted to Thomas Conway, esq., for 24 years upon the surrender of the Earl of Warwick. In 1596 a grant was made by Her Majesty "of the Captainship of Calshot Castle in the Countie of Southampton to Thomas Conway, one of Her Majesty's Ushers with the fees, viz., for himself 20d. per day, his deputy 8d. a porter 8d., etc." In 1603 "joynt patronage of the keepinge of Calshot Castle in countie of Southampton" was granted to Thomas Conway, one of the Gentlemen Ushers and to Edmund Conway his son upon surrender to be made by the father of the Letters Patent he gave for the same place.[3]

In 1606 "Captain Thomas Conway, Gent., late Governor of the poor Knights within His Majesty's Castle of Windsor, did depart this life at London in Shorte Southwarke upon the 7th day of June 1606."[4]

[1] Calendar of State Papers.
[2] Signet Office Dockets, Record Office.
[3] *History of Gloucestershire*, 1779, p. 681.
[4] British Museum Add. MS. 15916, folio 10.

THE MANOR HOUSE.

By permission of Mrs. Arkell the Manor House, a very early dwelling containing interesting details in the cellars, and a Norman doorway, was visited.

EASTLEACH.

The last churches on the Cotswolds to be visited lie in a valley which has been described to the writer of these notes as the "end of the world," and as one approached the twin villages which are separated by the little tributary of the Thames one could well imagine the isolation which must sometimes be felt by their inhabitants.

CANON WRIGHT, who has been incumbent for forty years, described both churches and took every pains to make the visit an extremely pleasant one, rather heaping coals of fire on the Society in return for a "glance" so sparingly given on an occasion many years ago. He has kindly revised the following note, which is taken in part from a paper contributed by him to the *Transactions*, xxii, 115-20.

The church of SS. Michael and Martin consists of nave, chancel, north transept, with a low eastern tower, and south porch. The doorway and shafts and capitals of the chancel arch are Norman, the arch itself being of much later date. The transept is fourteenth century. There are remains of a bellcote on the chancel arch. In the nave there are some ancient oak seats, roughly worked. A part of the churchyard cross remains.

Within a stone's throw, separated by the river Leach, is the church of St. Andrew, Eastleach Turville.

Much of the nave masonry is Norman, but the chancel was considerably rebuilt in the thirteenth century, from which period date several lancets and a beautiful triplet in the east end, also a southern priests' doorway, with hoodmould terminated by corbels. For the most part the windows are utterly debased, their tracery at some late date having been entirely removed, but the transept is

fortunate in retaining some early Decorated lights, and there is a small window with semi-Flamboyant tracery in the south wall of the nave. The saddleback tower, which has early roof-weathering apparent on its east face, dates mainly from the fourteenth century. The porch is Decorated, and like that at Eastleach Martin contains a trefoiled niche in its interior east wall. The inner doorway is late Norman, its arch a mass of chevrons, and the octagonal jamb-shafts richly ornamented, while a carved tympanum—an unusually fine specimen—depicts Christ in Majesty, with hand raised in attitude of benediction.

Of the interior, not the least pleasing feature is the new roof of local elm, admirably designed so as to be in keeping with the rural character of the building. Woodwork of greater age is apparent in the pulpit, which contains several Jacobean panels, and in the still earlier lectern shaft, said to have been brought from Tewkesbury Abbey. The transept, now used as an organ chamber, has in its north wall a canopied tomb recess, with late thirteenth century stone bearing an extremely handsome floriated cross. Tradition names the grave as that of an abbess, and last century, when the coffin was rifled by sacrilegious hands, a very beautiful rosary was said to have been found.

The chancel presents an unusually fine vista of Early English work, introduced by a lofty arch, and displayed particularly in the east end, where the three lancet windows are connected by rich arcading. In the north wall is a rectangular almery ,and near by a large panelled chest bears the date 1678. A Jacobean Communion table remains in the sanctuary, otherwise the features are modern and without interest.

After expressing their warm thanks to Canon Wright for all he had done to make the afternoon so enjoyable, members began their journey homewards, breaking it at Bibury for tea, and a hurried look once more at the

church and charming village, the motors leaving shortly after for Gloucester anf Bristol.

Favoured by fine weather throughout, absolute time-keeping and careful driving on the part of chauffeurs, the meeting was a success in every way and from the pleasant allusions made during tea the Secretary understood that the arrangements which had devolved upon him gave every satisfaction. For the first time for some years a fully illustrated description of the places visited was issued and though a former veteran leader of the meetings might well have expressed astonishment at the cost the feeling was general that the particulars and illustrations it contained were of use and interest.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

Keynotes on Collecting.

By Sir Francis H. Crawley-Boevey, Bart.

(with seven figures).

YOU will I hope forgive me if I appear, as indeed I feel, somewhat dismayed at my own audacity in attempting to address so distinguished an audience who are sure to know more about most archæological subjects than I do myself. As I said this morning I am more than grateful for the honour you have done me in making me your President for the year, and I take my election not only as a great and undeserved compliment to myself, but, what pleases me even more, as a recognition of the historical and archæological interest taken by members of the Society in my old home Flaxley Abbey. I had the pleasure of welcoming many members of the Society there last summer when several of you were good enough to express appreciation of a certain sense of fascination that undoubtedly haunts the place, partly due no doubt to its woodland setting down in the valley, which in Saxon times was so aptly named "Castiard" or the Valley of Peace. I can make no apology for feeling proud and privileged to own so much beauty and antiquity, for although of course we were all brought up to regard pride as one of the deadly sins, yet I think that particular species known as "house pride" might well be omitted or at any rate receive a special absolution. I would even go further and say it should be encouraged, since it implies an intense affection for the home and all that it contains, and spurs its owner on to find out as much as possible of the history and value of everything belonging to it. Such an enquiry inevitably leads one further afield. Many articles of interest for their artistic

merit or antiquity, originally belonging to the old house, have become dispersed among members of the family who have left and settled in new homes. Sets of old china or glass have been diminished not only by the inevitable housemaid's brush, but also from the fact that when a son or a daughter has married and left the old home they have almost invariably taken with them some of the old treasures to which they were particularly attached, the result being that often on a visit to relations one may recognise odd pieces of some home set of, say, an old Worcester tea service, and looks at them with rather envious eyes. I would add, by the way, and most gratefully, that in my own case some of my relations have been sufficiently self-denying to let me take such odd pieces back and put them with the rest of the set, where they belong, and where they are of course of more value than they would be by themselves. In shops too you occasionally happen on something which exactly matches another in your own possession or perhaps completes a set. Thus the love of your own inheritance leads you on, almost instinctively, to become something of a collector. And it is of collecting, which one might perhaps call the playful offspring of archæology, rather than of its more austere parent, that I would speak briefly to-night, and if this address were worthy of a title at all I think I would call it "Keynotes on Collecting," why keynotes you will understand later. Many people collect something or other nowadays. Collecting like betting is very much on the increase, and I venture to think that the former is almost as exciting and certainly more worth while and cheaper in the long run than the latter. When all's said and done collecting is something of a gamble, and appeals to the gambling instinct inherent in each one of us. Every time you pick up what you think is a treasure at what you consider a bargain, you are backing your knowledge against another's knowledge or possibly ignorance.

When you are asked one pound for what you think is worth five pounds or even more, you back yourself to know better than the man who sells it. It is not given to all of us to collect pictures by old Masters, Sèvres, or Oriental porcelain, fine period furniture, Stuart, Queen Anne, Chippendale, or Sheraton. For in collecting, as in other forms of expenditure, one has to cut one's clothes according to one's cloth—and nowadays most of us have mighty little cloth to cut.

But there is just as much excitement and interest in small things as in great for those who can temper their ambition to the limit of their purse strings. "Details make perfection and perfection is no detail," as Michael Angelo said. The work of the honey bee is just as wonderful and useful as that of the horse or the elephant, only on a different scale, and I maintain that collecting even on comparatively small and inexpensive lines contributes *something* to the world's store of knowledge, and is not a waste of time, apart from its possible advantage and certain enjoyment to the man or woman who indulges in it.

There are certain general rules which should be observed in collecting anything, which I might perhaps remind you of. One is, never to put in your collection anything that has been broken and mended. Mending is a fine art at the present time and very difficult to detect at first; but the mending of china, especially good as it is, becomes ever more apparent with time; the part substituted for the missing original and painted over almost invariably changes colour as time goes on and declares itself irrevocably after a few years—if not less.

Secondly, never collect anything but what is hand made. Where machines step in, Art—as a rule—ceases, and it is the tiny differences in a set of hand made things, be it china, glass, embroideries, or what-not that constitutes their worth as works of art and make them valuable

contributions to the world's stock of treasures. Everything made by hand has an individual touch, reflects the personality of the maker and therefore is of human interest. Machine made things have no individuality and therefore are of no interest in the realms of Art, except of course in so far as the machine is controlled by hand and subject to the will or brain of the operator.

Thirdly, never collect inferior specimens even from a celebrated workshop. Let your motto be: "The best is good enough for me." To do that implies a certain amount of knowledge, but no collector can be successful without knowledge, which can as a rule only be gained by experience.

Nowadays more than ever, the collector is beset with pitfalls often so well concealed as to entrap even the connoisseur. For there are in France and Germany, potteries where they quite openly manufacture, not only old Sèvres and old Dresden, but old Chelsea, Lowestoft and Worcester china as well. To those whose eye and hand are trained to know the *colour* and *feel* of the real old English china, these foreign imitations need present no difficulties, for I think I am right in saying, in every case—or at any rate every one that I have come across—the paste of the foreign imitation is hard, cold to the touch, and white in colour; whilst that of the Old English is soft, cool, but not chilly, and a more creamy white in colour, the gold of the imitation is not so good, and the dark blue (notably in the imitation Worcester) is of a brighter shade than the rather black blue of the original.

Again there are factories in England, as well as abroad, where old *furniture* is made, also quite openly. I went over one on the East coast a few years ago, whose proprietor boasted with pride that some of the furniture turned out was so old and decrepit that it came back within a few months to be restored! When confronted with such masterpieces, the sense of *touch* is usually a

much surer method of detection than that of *sight*, for although the new may look exactly like the old, there is a subtle difference in the feel of the two, which, though difficult to define exactly, becomes with practise a kind of instinct, and is well worth cultivating. This applies not only to furniture, but to china, glass, plate, old pewter, bronzes and other things as well.

If only we could look into the future, and see things of little value now, all the rage in, say, twenty years time, what fine investments we might make! It is, of course, mere speculation, yet there are some rare things now which have certainly not reached their highest value yet. Mezzotint engravings are now fashionable, but woodcuts and line engraving, and lithograph are nothing like as much sought after, and yet in these days when photo printing has nearly killed such laborious methods of reproduction as cutting wood blocks or steel plates, or making lithographs, the really beautiful specimens of these are certain to come into greater favour sometime or other as they get scarcer. Really well made Victorian furniture—and some of it *was* well made, though by no means all—will come into favour again some day. I have a set of six chairs, made by William Morris for his friend the painter, Ford Maddox Brown, which though quite simple in design, are light and extremely comfortable to sit in, and are certainly worth more than the few shillings I paid for them, at the sale of Ford Maddox Brown's things after his death in 1893. William Morris, the great "poet upholsterer" as some one described him, was himself a most ardent collector, as the following true story will show you. A cousin of mine—the late Lord Aldenham (who by-the-way himself told me the story)—collected old illuminated Missals, and on one occasion, when travelling in Italy, acquired what he thought was a fine specimen, though not quite perfect, as a few pages were evidently missing. On his return to England with his prize, he found that

the Burlington Fine Arts Club were about to show a collection of such things at their annual exhibition. And so he sent his treasure up to see what expert opinion on it would be. The Secretary wrote to him saying it was considered quite the finest contribution they had received, and would be given a case to itself in the centre of the room, in spite of its lack of a few pages. A little while after this, the Secretary again wrote to this effect. " I am sure you will be interested to hear that I have found that the missing pages of your Missal are in existence, and are possessed by Mr. William Morris. I need hardly point out, that it seems a pity that the different parts of such a work of art should remain in separate hands." Then, of course, followed a correspondence between the two collectors ; Mr. William Morris declined to part with his pages, and Lord Aldenham naturally did not care to give up his major portion. So the correspondence ceased until some time (it may have been years) afterwards when my cousin received a letter, with an Italian postmark, and from William Morris. It was worded something like this:—" Dear Lord Aldenham, I am on my death bed and feel you will not refuse a dying man's request when I ask you to let me have your part of the Italian Missal. I enclose a cheque for so and so (I forget the exact amount) and shall be infinitely obliged if you will post it to me here at once." I need hardly say the request was granted. I quote this little anecdote to show how strong the love of collecting may become, even to one whose life held so many other interests, in poetry, art and politics, as did that of William Morris.

Harking back again to the old home and its influence on collecting. Probably there is no more interesting and exciting place in any old house than the lumber room. I have certainly found it so at Flaxley. It would take much too long to tell you half the treasures I have reclaimed from a dusty slumber amongst its shelves and

boxes, or on its floor. Chippendale chairs with one leg damaged, but easily repairable. A mezzotint engraving by Valentine Green, in a frame with a broken glass lying face downwards on the floor, an inlaid knife box full of its original 18th century steel knives and three pronged forks with pistol handles of Worcester china. Large things and small, even to sets of those large studs our great grandfathers wore, which are certainly no use for the modern dress shirt, but make excellent waistcoat buttons.

One day a few years ago, looking around, with an electric torch (electric light, by the way is a great revealer of secrets in a dark lumber room) I happened to look up and hanging on the side of one of the low beams of the ceiling I saw a bunch of old keys on a piece of wire. The next time I went to London, I took four of them to the Victoria and Albert Museum, where I found similar ones dated early 17th century and valued at five or six pounds apiece. With these as a nucleus I started a small collection. Small, because I find they are extremely difficult to come by. The reason of that, I imagine, is that though people have very often had a new key fitted to an old lock, they very seldom have a new lock made for an old key, however beautiful the latter may be. The old keys, therefore, get mislaid and lost, or are left in the hands of the local blacksmith, who, being a thorough vandal, has merely treated them as old iron and as such melted them down or broken them up.

I need, perhaps, make no apology for giving a brief history—as far as I have been able to trace it—of keys worth collecting, and though it is somewhat difficult to do so without many illustrations, I will try to make it as intelligible as I can. When you come to think of it the key is one of the most important things in the world. A safe would be anything but safe without one. The security of the world rests upon them. They are quoted,

and form an integral part of ancient mythology and Holy Scripture. Hecate, we know, was said to hold the keys of the underworld wherewith to open the gates and set free the imprisoned spirits. She is represented as holding a key in one hand, and a serpent in the other. Janus, the keeper of the gates of Heaven, entrusted his wife Jana with the key to give exit to Aurora, and the life and light giving Phoebus, as well as to close the gates at night. Whilst to come to the Christian era, St. Peter was expressly given the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven (Matthew, xvi, 19). He is represented with two keys, one of silver, the other gold, as the emblem of the Papacy; whilst on all our ecclesiastical ceremonial robes, the crossed keys are embroidered, as the main emblem of our Church's authority—to come nearer home, the arms of the See of Gloucester are, of course, golden crossed keys.

Although one may be specially interested in keys, it is impossible in speaking of them not to mention locks as well.

In Egypt, where so many mechanical contrivances seem to have made little or no progress for thousands of years, the modern wooden lock or "Dub'beh" (fig. 1) is considered to be identical with that in use four thousand years ago. In a description of a wall painting in the temple of Abydos, the late Miss Edwards writes of Rameses II, as being represented "in the act of opening the door of a shrine by means of a golden key, formed like a human hand and arm" (fig. 2). This agrees with an account given over a hundred years ago, by Mr. Denon, of a painting in the great temple of Karnak, and both descriptions might apply to a wooden lock and key, now in the possession of my friend, Mr. Emery Chubb, a senior member of our premier firm of locksmiths and safe makers, which lock and key formed one of the many interesting specimens in the fine collection made by his father.

Going back to the earliest days of Egyptian civilization, we find the doors of houses, temples and palaces were usually double ones, stained so as to imitate rare and foreign woods. These were not hinged on the side posts, as doors are at present, but opened and shut on pivots, fixed in sockets in the lintel above, and the threshold below. In the stone lintels and floors at the entrance to the tombs and temples, are still frequently to be seen the holes in which these pivot pins turned, and recesses to receive the opened valves or doors.

The earliest fastenings of these doors were quite simple, and appear to have been directed against horses and cattle, rather than man, for they consisted merely of one or more bars or beams, fixed on the outside of the doors, which either working on a pivot dropped across the opening into a socket (on our latch bolt system) or slid in staples. But as cattle were evidently just as clever in those days as they are now, at lifting or pushing latches and bolts with their noses or teeth, the next precaution was to have a peg or wooden pin, which either was pushed through the cross bar into the door, or dropping vertically into a hole through staple and beam, kept the beam in place.

When at first this beam was on the outside of the door, it became, in course of time, necessary for men to protect their houses or temples, not only from their cattle, but also from their fellow men, and to do this, something more ingenious than a mere peg or pin was necessary, so the Egyptians shortened the beam into a long bolt, and made it hollow for part of its length, so that the pin, hidden in beam and staple, might be reached through one end of the beam itself, with a wooden key. The key, which was pushed up the hollow, had pegs on it, to match the pins which held the bolt, for the one pin was, in course of time, multiplied into three or more. When the key had been pushed well home, it was raised, and the pegs on it lifted

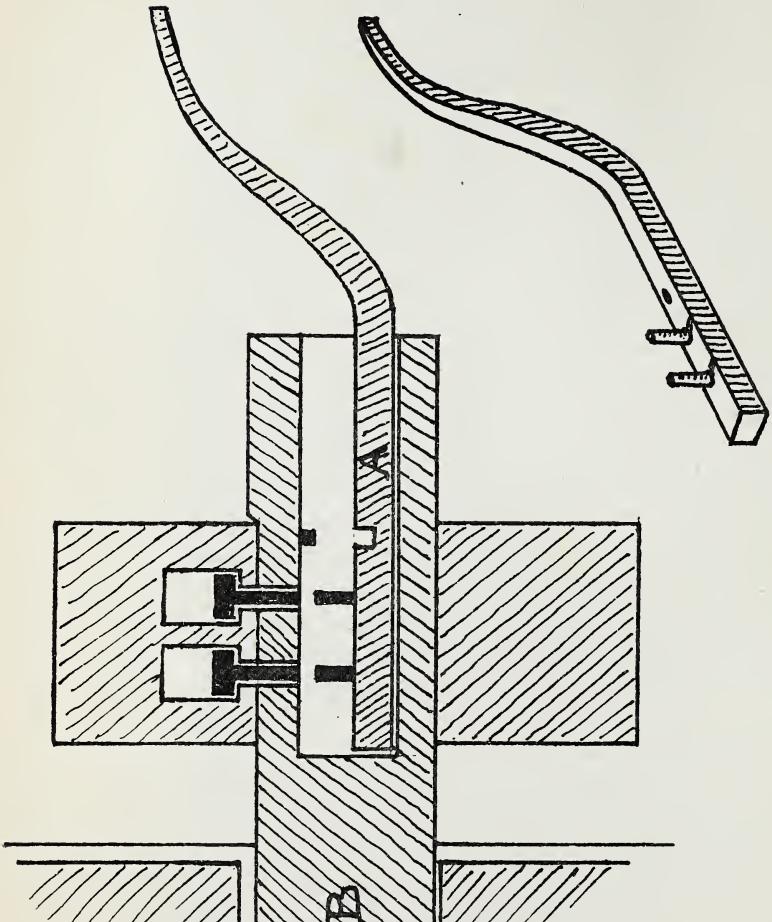


Fig 1. Modern Egyptian wooden lock + key
Longitudinal Section showing pegs down
+ Bolt (B) locked. Key A.

up the pins out of the way, and allowed the bolt to be thrown back by the key. So in the case of Rameses opening the shrine, the shank of the key is the arm, and the pegs are the fingers of the hand.

The more modern lock and key, in Mr. Chubb's collection, is identical in action, only that the lock is to be fastened on to one of the doors and is not part of a bolt. One rather curious feature about it, however, is that although large and clumsy from our modern point of view, it works on exactly the same principle as one of our smallest, neatest, and most up-to-date locks, the "Yale."

Fig 2.

The Yale key, with which you are of course all well acquainted, works in a small barrel which revolves so as to move the bolt. But before it can revolve, several small steel pins have to be raised to exactly the right height (and each one is a different length) and each of the teeth on the jagged edge of the key engages one of these pins and lifts it just so far and no farther than is necessary. And after the barrel has revolved and released the bolt, a spring takes it back again into the right position, for the pins to drop down into place again. The great claim for its security, is that the keyhole is so small, that it is

quite impossible for lock picking implements to be inserted such as would be required, one to raise the pins and the other to turn the barrel, at the same time. A Yale key is usually corrugated along the entire length of the blade, which prevents any up and down motion of a lock picking instrument to raise the pins, and even if this were not so, a lock of seven pins, all of different lengths, has ten million possible combinations, so it would take rather a long time to happen on the right one.

Mr. Chubb has also in his collection an ancient Chinese wooden lock, of still finer workmanship. Whereas the Egyptian one was the forerunner of the "Yale," this Chinese lock undoubtedly inspired the "Bramah" lock, for it is founded on exactly the same principles with flat pieces of wood, sliders, or what in these days are of metal and are called tumblers, of different lengths, which had to be raised by the key to the proper height and no higher before the lock bolt could be drawn.

I am not proposing to explain the different characteristics and excellencies of modern locks and keys, which do not concern us from a collector's point of view, but merely mention these two, to show how strangely history repeats itself, and the most ancient may inspire the most modern.

The next class of primitive fastening is that in which the beam or bolt was mounted on the *inside* of the door or doors. In this case, where the beam was secured, by a pin dropped vertically into it, concealment would not be so necessary as when both were on the outside of the door. Access was gained to it from the outside through a hole in the door above the bolt, by means of a metal hook (in the Greek, "Κλεις," and in Latin, "Clavis,") sickle shaped, and either having the business end carefully shaped to fit into a hole in the pin, to pull or push it up, or it caught a leather thong attached to the beam, and lifted it up, very much after the fashion of our old English bobbin and latch fastening. General Pitt Rivers, in his admirable

treatise on the history of locks and keys, gives an illustration of some such keys which he found at Lewes. He ascribes them to the late Celtic period, and mentions that they were often carried over the shoulder (fig. 3), quoting Isaiah xxii, 22. "And the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder; so he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and none shall open." Another class of primitive lock was again for controlling *outside* bolts, but shows a decided advance on the ends just mentioned, inasmuch as the pins were reached by the key, through a hole in the *staple* in which the bolt slid, and not through the bolt itself, or the pin which fastened it. In this type of lock (which is the immediate forerunner of the box lock taking the place of the staple) the hole in the staple through which the key was introduced, is a horizontal one just above the bolt. The dropping pins are square in section, and are notched on their side to allow the key to pass and get into position, before they can be lifted up. The key is flattish, with little side projections which engage the pins. After the pins are lifted up with the key by one hand, it is necessary to pull back the bolt with the other, thus showing a marked difference between this lock and that of Egypt, in which the bolt is withdrawn by the key itself.

Fig 3.

Now we come to the fourth primitive type of lock, the bolt or beam being now again on the *inside* of the door. In this type the bolt was kept out by the projection of a spring or springs which spread out against the sides of the staple, in the same way that a school boy would spread out his arms and legs against the jambs of a doorway, through which his school fellows tried to push him. The first

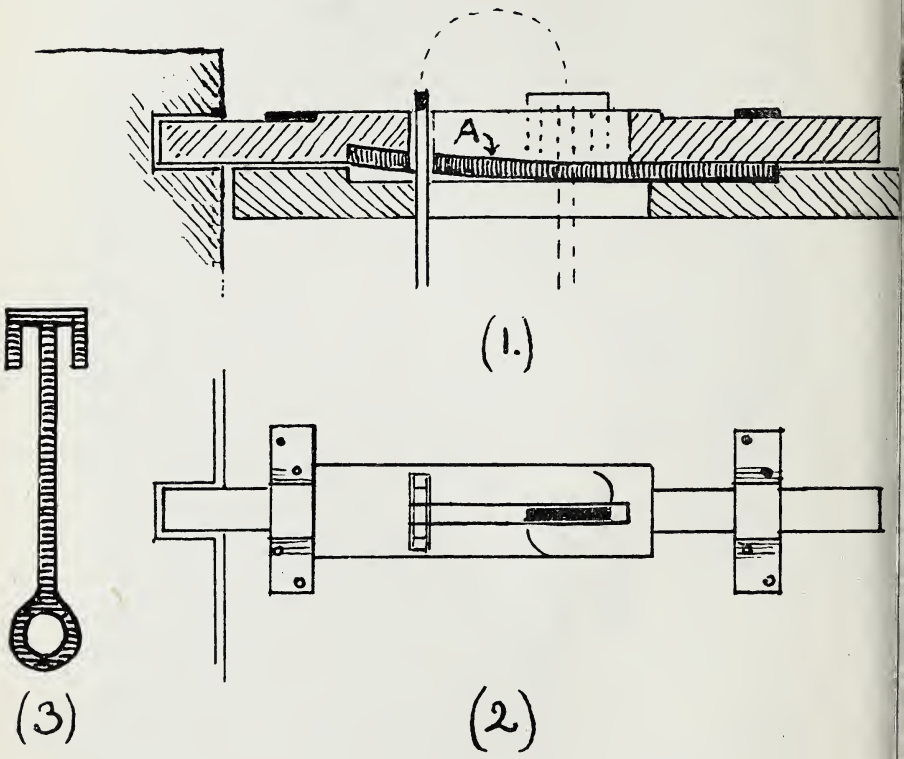


Fig 4.

(1) Longitudinal Section. Spring A

(2) View shewing keyhole.

(3) Key.

function of the key is to compress the springs. It is a flattish one, T shaped with return prongs or hooks on its end. It is passed through a horizontal slit in door and bolt; then turned a quarter circle and pulled. The pull brings the prongs to bear upon the outspread spring of the bolt, flattens it and allows it to clear the fixed obstructions at its end. The bolt is then free to slide back, and this is effected by simply sliding back the key, whose prongs are now embedded in the bolt. This lock and key are Roman, and the keys are frequently found among Roman remains. (Fig. 4).

Sir Ernest Wallis Budge, the head of the Egyptian section of the British Museum, told me he did not know of any evidence of the existence of metal keys of purely *Egyptian* origin. There are some shown in the cases of exhibits in this section, but these, he thinks, date from after the Roman occupation of Egypt, 30 B.C., and are really Roman.

Of these and such like Roman keys the larger ones are of iron, the smaller of bronze, the bow of which was almost always " annular " or plain ring shaped.

The locks are as a rule based on that of Egypt, but the bolt is now a small one often in bronze, and the dropping pins that hold it are of various shapes, round, square, or triangular in section, and are pressed downwards by a spring. The projections on the key are shaped so as to correspond with the ever varying shapes and positions of the pins. The keys do not pass into the end or side of the bolt, but into a casing, as in modern locks, and catch the bolts on their lower surface.

When the key has been introduced through the keyhole, and has been given a quarter turn to push up the pins out of the way, a horizontal extension of the keyhole allows the key to be slid sideways, and so move the bolt into its unlocked position.

Some years ago I was told by an eminent Egyptologist a pretty story which I have since found, from my own investigations in the British Museum and elsewhere, contained a considerable substratum of fact, but possibly a little fiction as well. He asked me if I knew why the church key was used, at a marriage service, if the bridegroom had come without the wedding ring. The obvious answer, of course, was that the key bow constituted the handiest form of ring procurable at the moment. However, he maintained that it was not entirely for that reason, but that in reality it was a survival of a very ancient custom. A key, he said, and not a ring, was in ancient times given by the bridegroom to his bride as a sign of marriage, the master key of his house. This key she wore on a chain round her neck. Then, as time went on, someone invented the idea of putting the key on a ring which she wore on her hand, the key lying flat along the first joint of the finger. The next step in the evolution of the wedding ring was that a small hinge was provided, the key folded back on it and lay hidden behind a seal—the origin of the signet ring. Eventually seal and key were discarded, and the plain ring kept as the marriage sign. Well, that is as I said before a pretty story, but certainly parts of it, unfortunately, do not altogether coincide with the writings on locks and keys by the greatest authorities on the subject, or from one's own observations. The more correct story would seem to be, that a bride, in ancient Roman times, was given by her husband, not only one key but several, the keys of the house in fact. But with one exception, and that, even as it is not unusual nowadays, was the key of the wine cellar! This her lord and master kept himself, and was very particular to do so. The penalties for any infringement of his rights in this respect were sometimes terrible. Pliny (H.N. xiv, § 89) quotes a story by Fabius Pictor of a wife who was starved to death for picking the lock of a cupboard, where

her husband kept his cellar key! On most of the ring keys in the British Museum, and elsewhere, the rings are so large, that they appear to have been made for a *man's* finger, rather than a woman's, which possibly accommodated this very special wine cellar key. One such ring key was found here in England, at Colchester, and many have been discovered elsewhere.

False, or skeleton keys, used by robbers, were not unknown in ancient Rome, examples of which have been found from time to time. The latin word for these s—curiously enough—" Adulterae." Most Roman keys are devoid of ornamentation of any kind, the round bow, and stem, and bit (or web) being plain, and rather uninteresting from an artistic point of view.

It is not until we come to Mediaeval times, that locks and keys are treated as works of art, things of beauty as well as utility. Then we get to types of keys which worked more like our own, the sliding and pushing giving place entirely to turning movements; ward locks appear for the first time, that is to say, locks with fixed obstructions, and keys with corresponding slits, or holes in the web to pass these obstructions. The keys are now made either pipe fashioned, to slide into a fixed pin in the lock, or else made solid, terminating in a projecting pin, or " broach," which fitted a socket, or hole, cut in the back plate of the lock. Later on, in Renaissance times, the section of the pipe was not always circular, sometimes it was triangular, and the pin on which it was pushed was shaped to fit it. Of course, provision was then made for the pin itself to turn with the key. The outside of the key, too, was sometimes fluted, and the lock pin then became a barrel as well, revolving on bearings at either end.

In the 12th century, metal work of all kinds begins to be far more artistically treated than ever before. The church, sharing in the world's increasing wealth, not only engaged the services of the best laymen, but increased the

number of her monastery schools in which the arts were taught and practised. With a love for the sacred edifices they were to adorn, many a masterpiece of iron, silver and gold emerged from these monastic workshops. And even in their own times these works of art excited considerable admiration and wonder. Take for instance the case of the Frenchman Biscornette, who made the hinge work for the doors of Notre Dâme in Paris. We read how people said of him, that, to make such wonderful and beautiful work, he must have invoked the help of the Devil. And when one fine day he disappeared, and was never seen again, no doubt his jealous friends said that he had been taken to his friend and fellow worker's own workshop. (Burty. *Chef-d'oeuvres of the Industrial Arts.*)

Keys of this early date have their bows in symbolical, or speaking generally, in ecclesiastical shapes, trefoils, quatrefoils, etc.. Most of these which have remained to us through the ages are of bronze, and therefore, like many of the finely wrought iron or steel specimens of a rather later date, have escaped the melting pot, that from time to time, as coffers got empty, engulfed art work made in the more precious metals. Their locks are often the ancestors, in direct and unbroken line, of the ordinary tumbler lock of to-day. For they had a bolt prepared with a notch in it, for the key to actuate—a notch which locksmiths call a " talon "—and it was held in place by a tumbler. The tumbler instead of moving vertically, was hinged, and so the word " catch " perhaps describes it better than tumbler. A part of it came down over the bolt to reach the key, and the first thing the key did, as you turned it, was to lift up this catch; then as you continued turning, the key caught the bolt by the notch and thereby moved it.

The work of English locksmiths, during the Mediaeval and Renaissance Periods is not as noticeable as that on the Continent. The Victoria and Albert Museum, for instance

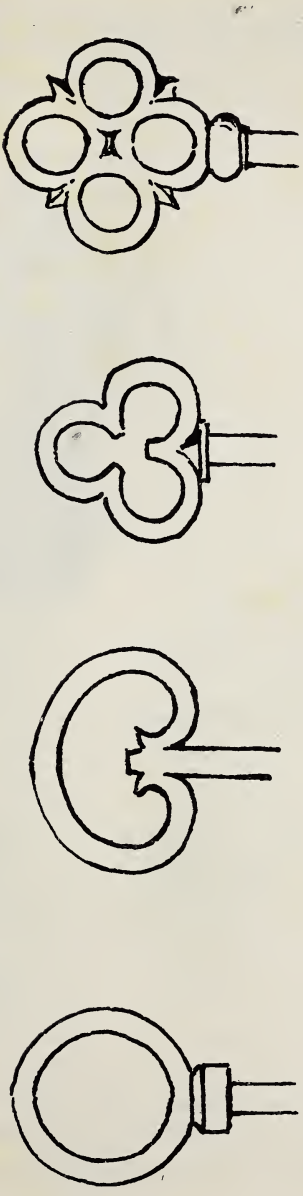


Fig 5
Bow shapes

has many more examples of French and German locks and keys than it has English. Many of the French keys are so beautiful that I only wish I could describe them, but it is

Fig 6.
French 17th Cent
(V. & A. Museum)

impossible without several illustrations to do so. As a very rough rule I think most of their bows are lyre shaped. Mathurin Jousse, a locksmith of Paris, published a book

on his trade, in Paris in 1627, full of elaborate details and some wonderful illustrations.

English Renaissance keys seem to have kept much to the same design in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. I have two keys, one a facsimile of those at Rousham House, Oxfordshire, built in Elizabeth's reign, and another, which is one of those I found in the lumber room at home, of almost exactly similar pattern, which fits the lock of an inlaid cabinet I have, the date of which is probably about 1660 (fig. 7). The 17th century sees the height of the locksmith's art in England, as far as the artistic beauty of their bows is concerned, and consequently, to my mind at any rate, their interest to the collector. A good idea of the keys of the last century can be obtained from the collection of Chamberlain's keys bequeathed by Mr. Octavius Morgan to the British Museum. They are beautiful in their way, but hardly so spontaneous and individual (being very precise and somewhat finicking) as those of earlier times. The official and emblematic idea in them is always paramount. Talking of emblems of office reminds one that symbolical ideas have hung about keys in all ages. A key was, and is, presented to a Jewish Rabbi on his institution as a sign that in future it is his duty to unlock and exhibit sacred truths to the people. To those Doctors of the Law, who failed in their duty, came the condemnation:—"Woe unto you lawyers!

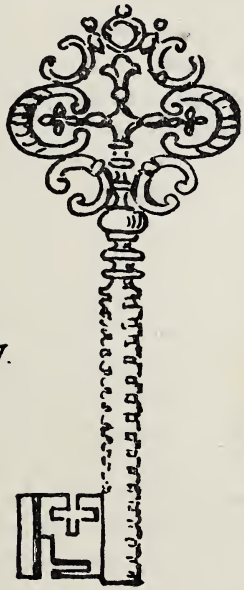


Fig 7.

for ye took away the key of knowledge." There are of course very many details of the locksmith's art that I have not touched upon at all: the large range of ancient padlocks for instance, which though full of ingenuity and quaint devices, have from my particular point of view (which is that of the beauty and workmanship of keys rather than locks) little or no special interest. And now, Ladies and Gentlemen, in conclusion, may I be permitted to say with what great diffidence I have read this paper to you to-night. To have elected me your President—as I have said before—is an honour that I fully appreciate, but the necessity for me to read a paper in my capacity as such, to the Society, seemed to be binding upon my shoulders more than I could bear. "Ars longa, vita brevis" is an old and trite saying, yet applicable in its entirety to everyone who pursues knowledge, whatever the field of pursuit may be. To me it has been given, only to act the part of the neophyte in the world of antiquarian science—to some of you who soar in the Olympian heights of Archæology, it must appear that I tread but the lowest plain—yet, "Art is long," and "life is short" and therefore, had my whole life been dedicated to my subject, I could not be complete master of my art. To ransack the realms of religion, mythology and history; to scrutinize the castles and the cottages, the boxes and the cabinets of all countries and ages; to peer into the very depths of the tombs of the past, to read their mysteries for the gathering of materials for an elaborate history of keys, is beyond my time, and perhaps my ability—in fact I am astounded at my own temerity in daring to address you on such a subject. But as I look around me I see those whom, perhaps, some day I may venture to call old friends—and it is for this reason that I hope that whatever paucity of matter there may be in my

paper, it may receive the kindly criticism of friends, and, after all as Austin Dobson so truly writes:—

> "Old books, old wine, old Nankin blue,
> All things in short to which belong
> The charm, the grace, that time makes strong,
> All these I prize, but (entre nous)
> Old friends are best."

BRISTOL ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES, 1920—1923[1]

Including the latest "Chatterton Find."

By JOHN E. PRITCHARD, F.S.A.

WHEN I submitted my last paper entitled "Bristol Archæological Notes"[2] I ventured to prophesy that subject to certain conditions Bristol would continue to give up her ancient secrets. I am under the impression that what I am about to say this evening confirms that statement, and may be of some interest.

It is a very great pleasure this evening to record my DISCOVERY IN LONDON a short while since, of a BOOK that formerly belonged to WILLIAM BARRETT, a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and a Bristol surgeon, who was author of the first History of Bristol, published in 1789. The book I found bears the autograph of Barrett on the first fly-leaf, and on the back—also in his own hand-writing—a note by him as to the cost of printing.

The volume itself is imperial quarto, with leather back, and paper sides, but when found it was in deplorable condition. It had originally 62 leaves, but there are only 50 now, and it appears to have been last used for pressing botanical specimens as it contained a number of dry plants, and the leaves remaining were badly stained as the result of this use. The missing leaves were probably torn out owing to damp or extreme stain, and it is a puzzle to realise why the book was ever saved in the condition in which it turned up.

The volume is, however, of extraordinary interest, for to me a momentary examination made it clear beyond doubt that it originally contained a complete set of

[1] Read at the Bristol Evening Meeting, 19th March, 1923.
[2] Transactions, xlii, 125-48.

"proof" impressions from the engraved copper plates forming the illustrations which Barrett contemplated using for his history. These proofs were printed on thick white hand-made paper, quite distinct from the bluish paper which was used for the illustrations in the copies of the published history.

Now, at the end of the preface, on page viii in the history, we may find a list of thirty plates included in the work, and of this original total there are fifteen left, as well as three unpublished ones; and owing to the damp use of the book I have been able to trace impressions of the missing views on the opposite pages, indicating the illustrations that have been torn out.

The botanical genius failed to injure several of the plates which are to us of the greatest value, and we thank the "unknown" for this omission. Three of these were illustrations intended for his history, but never used by Barrett. I will speak about these later, and in addition there is a "conjectural" plan of the City, of supreme importance, which most fortunately was wholly saved.

I will now ask your particular attention to Chapter III, on page 51, which is headed "*A plan and description of Bristol in its early and middle state.*"

Those who know their Barrett—which it must be borne in mind was the *first* History of Bristol—will I am sure be interested in being reminded that in his description of this "conjectural plan," he enumerates all the gates, as follows:—

No. 1. Baldwin's or Leonard's gate.
2. St. Nicholas gate.
3. Elle Gate or New gate.
4. Froom or Water gate.
5. Pithay gate.
6. Defence gate.
7. Tower gate.
8. St. John's gate.

9. St. Giles's gate.
10. Sally-Port of the castle.

Thus, he goes on to say—"a gate and a church or a chapple, terminated each of the four streets," and then adds this significant fact on the eleventh line from the bottom—which he emphasises—that "FOUR CHURCHES SURROUNDED THE CROSS AT THE CENTER," though he entirely omits their names in this place.

Barrett made the same statement further on in his History, on page 457.

It was this statement of Barrett's that caused so much trouble to the later historian and led many able writers astray—as we shall see. No one in the realm of local history up to the present time, has yet been able to trace the source of Barrett's supposed knowledge as to the fourth church, which he marked on his conjectural plan. This refers to the question of a church formerly standing on the Dutch House site.

Amongst all the early plans of the City which it has been my pleasure to exhibit to you on previous occasions not one of them indicates a church at the corner of High Street and Wine Street.

Not William Smith, who surveyed the City in 1568, nor George Hoefnagle in 1581, nor John Speed in 1610, nor Jacobus Millerd, who most carefully surveyed the City in order to issue his plans between 1671 and 1673.

None of these great men gave the slightest indication of any ecclesiastical building at that corner.

Further, we have strong negative evidence through that painstaking and able antiquary, William Wyrcester, who perambulated our streets during many years in the middle of the fifteenth century, and has left behind such valuable records of what he saw, which were afterwards published by Dallaway, under the style of *The Antiquities of Bristow in the middle centuries*, and later too, through Leland, appointed "King's Antiquary" by Henry VIIIth, who

was probably here soon after 1540—neither of whom left any reference to such a church.

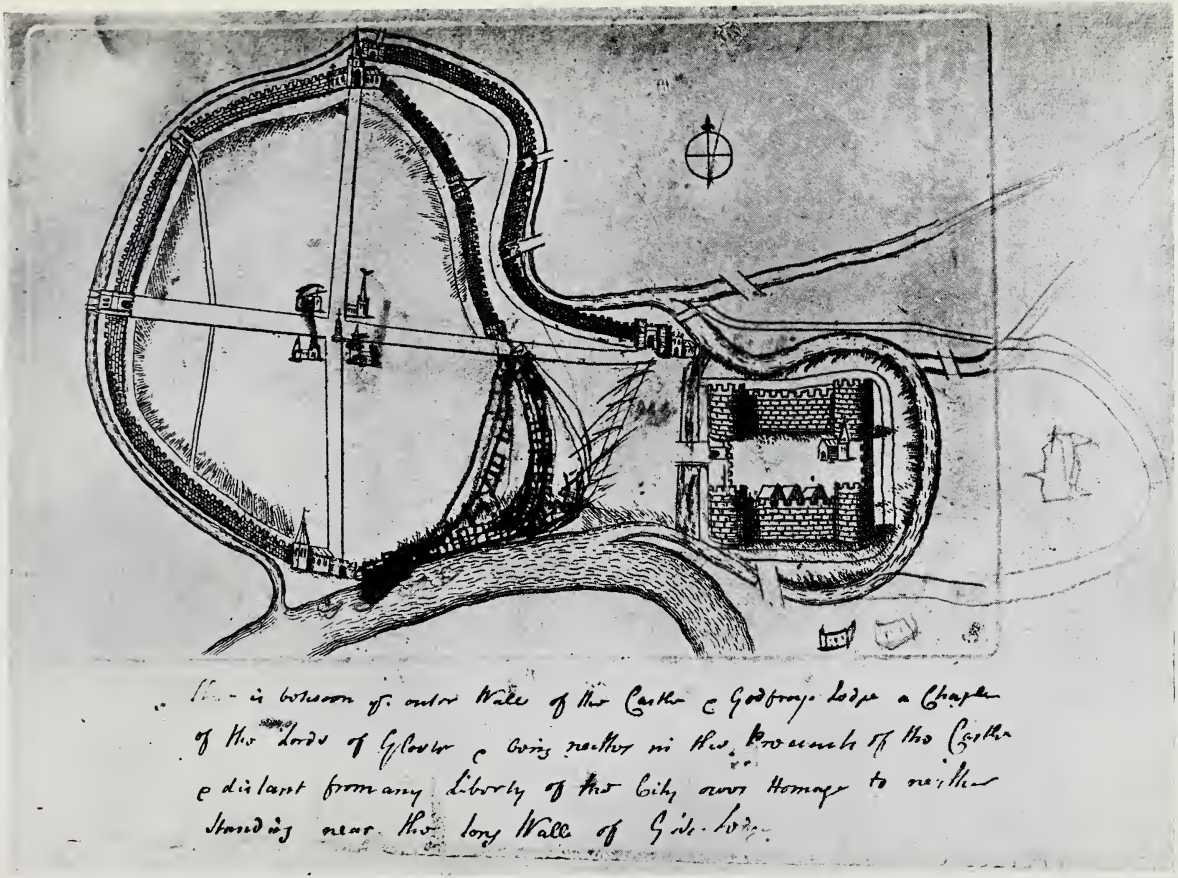
Notwithstanding these facts the writer on Bristol—following Barrett—the Rev. John Evans, who published a *History of Bristol, Civil and Ecclesiastical*, in conjunction with John Corry, in 1816, said, in referring to the churches round the High Cross[1] " The name of the fourth is conjectured (from information the source of which we do not at present recollect) to have been St. Andrew's."

Then T. H. Sealy, Editor of the *Archæological Magazine of Bristol, Bath, South Wales and the S.W. Counties*, which came out in 1843, followed on the same line, without naming any authority—simply saying, " St. Andrew's stood upon the spot now occupied by the Castle Bank."

The next reference to a church of St. Andrew was in a paper entitled " The Desecrated and Destroyed Churches of Bristol " recorded before a meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute in this City in 1851, by John Bindon, architect; who, evidently without troubling to investigate the subject, said—" This church stood on the site of the Castle Bank, the old wooden Dutch-framed building now to be seen on the opposite corner to the Council House. No mention is made of this church by the early writers, and some of later times throw doubt on its existence. I am enabled to state that the extensive ecclesiastical remains clearly indicate that a church did exist on this site."

But seven years later, in the year 1858, George Pryce, who was then City Librarian (author of a very useful History of Bristol, published in 1861) produced a valuable pamphlet entitled *Fact versus Fiction* in which—amongst other local mythical stories—he very fully sets out and demolishes in this case, the absurdity of the conjecture as

[1] See Vol. II, p. 324.
[2] See p. 55.



Barrett's conjectural Plan of Bristol, with Chatterton's additions and correc[illegible] aru[illegible]

'acing Page 83.

to the existence of a church on the site of the old house, thus laying bare Barrett's " unpardonable blunders."

I commend this scarce booklet to the careful perusal of those members who have not read it.

And even as late as 1887 we find that probably the ablest member of this Society, in lecturing to a City audience, when enumerating the churches in the ancient City was reported as saying " and perhaps St. Andrew's where the old wooden house stood, opposite to Christ Church."

I must now ask for consideration of the plan which formed the first illustration in the recently found volume of Barrett's proofs. (Plate I).

This is, I venture to consider, *a most important discovery* and constitutes the latest.

CHATTERTON FIND

for this plan clearly shows, and proves beyond doubt, that the idea of a fourth church, around the High Cross, was conceived by no other brain than that of the Boy—Chatterton—who had duped Barrett in so many ways in connection with his history.

If you will examine this carefully you will perceive that it is manifestly evident that Barrett submitted a " proof " plate of his conjectural plan to Chatterton, who with his own pen inserted the High Cross and the four churches.

Notice that he first gave a spire to the mythical St. Andrew's, and then struck it out.

Further, he also added the wall from St. Nicholas Gate to the upper end of the Shambles, and thence to New Gate, adding the south section of the gateway, which had been omitted in the proof plan, which was far from being correct.

All the Chatterton additions were apparently made in black ink; but whether certain markings in red chalk were additions or corrections, it is difficult to conjecture.

They were certainly by the hand of Barrett, as he appears to have made small corrections on other plates in the volume in the same color chalk.

But the additional and most interesting feature of this plate—which certainly confirms my contention—is the foot-note to the plan in Chatterton's own hand writing, reading as follows:—

> There is between ye outer Wall of the Castle & Godfreys Lodge a Chaple
> of the Lords of Gloster & being neither in the Precincts of the Castle
> & distant from any Liberty of the City owing Homage to neither
> standing near the long Wall of G's Lodge."

I doubt if anyone can understand what was meant, and it is therefore further evidence of Chatterton's romantic mind.

In Seyer's *Memoirs of Bristol*, published 1821-3, page 263, you will find his reference to this altered plan, when printed. On page 268 of volume I, he says:

> "I say nothing of the plan given by Mr. Barrett, p. 51, because he does not inform us from whence it came; it seems to bear the mark of Chatterton's pen."

From the way Seyer wrote it is absolutely certain that he had never seen this proof, or we should have had rather more than a parson's sarcasm; but it is a remarkable coincidence that it has taken exactly a century for us to learn the truth.

I think you will agree that the result of the "find" establishes a new historical fact, and clearly proves that it was Chatterton who created the idea in Barrett's receptive mind that a church ever stood at the corner of High Street and Wine Street.

The scanty remains of groining beneath the so called Dutch House—which seemed to indicate to some folk

that a church must have existed there—have been fully dealt with in my Archæological Notes recorded in the *Transactions*, vol. xxxi, with illustrations.

That there are three plates in the Barrett proof volume unused by him in the History, has already been mentioned.

The first one has two churches on one sheet. That of St. John the Baptist, at the foot of Broad Street, is well known to us all, but the picture is very hard and uninteresting. Notwithstanding this, I believe it is the earliest engraving known of the Church; had there been any other I am sure Taylor would have used it in *Bristol Past and Present.*

The conduit, in the picture, is, of course, the most interesting feature. Our member, Mr. H. C. M. Hirst, in his valuable history of the church, tells us about this, and suggests it was erected in the Elizabethan period. The view of this is very meagre, but the one in Prout's *Antiquities of Bristol* (plate 25) is delightful, and so is the view given to us by Bird in 1816.[1] The erection was taken down about 1828.

The lower view on the sheet, of the Church of St. Nicholas was evidently prepared to show what the edifice was like before the gateway was removed in 1762, but why this illustration was not used it is difficult to understand, for it is given by Taylor in *Bristol Past and Present* nearly a century later. How he obtained it is a puzzle.

In the second sheet we get a poor view of the Church of St. James, once a priory, which was used by Barrett in his History at page 383. A very bad drawing of the Norman rose window is further discounted by being shown upon a scroll; and below it we have a view of "The Priors Refectory," which was demolished nearly a quarter of a century previously. It is difficult to realise what Barrett had in view in introducing this sketch.

[1] Corry and Evans, *History of Bristol*, II, 285.

We are not considering the history of St. James's Priory or Church now, it is a subject that would occupy a whole evening, and it is worth the effort; but in passing it may not be uninteresting to refer to a view of the conventual buildings taken from a painting, copied from a drawing in the British Museum, of the ruins of the Priory as they existed about 1630.

In describing a deed relating to the partition of this property, some years since, Latimer said[1]:—

> " Before the priory fell into the hands of the spoiler—Henry Brayne, a London tailor and church plunder-broker—the present tower of St. James's church marked nearly the centre of the original edifice, the nave, or western half, which still remains, being the church of the parish, maintained by the parishioners, while the choir, or eastern limb, described by William Worcester in one note as forty steps, and in another as twenty-six steps in length, was reserved for the monks and the monastic retainers. There was also at the eastern end a Lady's Chapel, which Worcester describes as being sixty-three feet in length, but its precise site cannot be determined. Immediately after the suppression, the king's agents, according to their universal custom in such cases, despoiled the priory church and the Lady's Chapel, and stripped off the leaden roofs, leaving the elements to complete the work of destruction. The process was rapid, for Leland, who visited Bristol only three or four years after the Dissolution, states that the desecrated buildings " hard buttying to the este end of the paroche churche " were then in ruins—in which state they were long allowed to remain. Brayne, however dealt vigourously with the monastic buildings proper—the cloisters, chapter house, dormitory, refectory, buttery etc., situated on the north side of the church, which erections had also been stripped of their leaden roofs by the

[1] Proc. Clifton Antiquarian Club, IV, 110.

royal commissioners—and these he transformed into a "capital mansion house or manor place" for his own residence.

The description of this dwelling forms the most interesting feature of the partition deed. It will be seen that one share comprised the western half of the mansion including the "great hall," which is likely to have been the ancient refectory, with the chambers over the same, extending to the west end of a "long gallery" that "joineth to the church there" (which seems to indicate the dormitory) and the rooms over this gallery."

Even with this description it is difficult to define the exact site of the refectory.

The third engraving styled "THE INFIRMARY" was really the south front of the new building, which was in course of erection at the time Barrett's History was issued. The first stone was laid in June 1784 and the central block was not ready until 1792. It was well that this most unattractive picture was never published; the view in Dr. Munro Smith's work[1] gives a very different impression of the building.

This extremely interesting volume of Barrett's plates also contains—carefully inserted by the owner—one of BENJAMIN DONN'S DOUBLE FOOLSCAP SCIENTIFIC CIRCULARS describing an Instrument for showing the Time of High Water, dated 1770, of which I have never seen another; and also Mr. CHAMPION'S PLAN OF THE BRISTOL CHANNEL, together with his scheme for a new cut, dated 1767.

I think I may claim that the whole constitutes a most valuable find, which rarely falls to one's lot.

We must now turn to MARY-LE-PORT STREET, in the heart of the city, which still retains some interesting specimens of domestic architecture; and though during

[1] *History of the Bristol Infirmary*, 1912, pp. 140-145.

the past quarter of a century the most imposing frontages have been demolished we can still admire the fifteenth century and later barge boards of the gables of the old Swan Inn, and the two seventeenth century half timber houses, Nos. 38 and 40, built against the north wall of the church, with the original cement armorial bearings of the Brewers' Company upon the frontages.

We know too, that a carved stone chimney-piece, bearing similar arms, exists at No. 19, in the same street, the property belonging to the Vestry of St. Peter's.

How often have we in the past found that the wealthy merchants of Bristol, of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries satisfied to live above their shops and their cellars, where their valuable stocks were kept, invariably fitted their principal rooms in accordance with their wealth, notwithstanding the restricted accommodation and position of the building itself.

A further instance has recently occurred, and two buildings which had plain and unattractive exteriors, known as Nos. 44 and 45 in this narrow street, demolished for business extension, proved to be exceptionally interesting. The dilapidated shops had a total frontage of 38 feet and stood about 65 feet distant from High Street on the south side, and had been void for some time.

Between April and August 1920, in preparation for the new building for Messrs. Stevens Bros., Ltd., Provision Merchants (who most courteously allowed me to inspect the premises at will) to be erected thereon, the site was cleared in the usual way by a well-known "house-wrecker" with instructions to pull down as rapidly as possible. Unfortunately no clause claiming "coins and articles of Antiquity" to be the property of the owners was in operation.

What was actually left of the original structure known as No. 44, with a frontage of 20 feet, was difficult to conjecture as the rapidity of demolition did not permit any

opportunity of forming a correct plan of the existing building.

The ground floor had evidently been considerably altered, and the original staircase was not in existence, although a short piece was left on the upper floor; but in the principal room on the first floor there remained some fragments of the plaster ceiling, just enough to indicate the character of the complete design. Our late member, Mr. S. J. Loxton, an architectural artist of great ability, was ever ready to help this Society, and his clever pencil made a few hasty sketches just before the demolition.

The semi-figure of an angel within a scroll was used at one of the four corners of the principal ceiling, and pomegranates and fleur de lys mouldings were freely introduced into the design of another ceiling on the same level.

This brings us to the *magnum opus*—the finely carved STONE CHIMNEY-PIECE of the principal room—of which we are very fortunate in having a photograph, taken soon after it was discovered, for its existence had not been previously known.

Now comes the crucial part of the story, for the "wrecker" who naturally wished to get the most he could for his lucky discovery, communicated with the City Authorities, in order to "bring off a deal" as he said. An appointment was made to view the chimney-piece. The result of the interview was however soon known as no sale to the City was affected.

Rather than give an opinion as to the decision I will narrate the sequel—

A Bristol dealer in antiquities was willing to give the sum asked—having secured the "refusal" if the City did not buy—and the stonework, with that of two less important fire-places, was immediately removed to his warehouse where I had the pleasure and satisfaction of a further examination.

In the meantime a world famous London firm was communicated with, and an expert buyer of antiques was here without a day's delay, when after a cursory examination a second sale was agreed upon, a cheque was written, and within a few days the Bristol relics were packed and transported, and consequently lost to the City for ever.

The great chimney-piece was soon afterwards shipped to New York and is now doubtless set in gorgeous surroundings giving infinite pleasure to its new owner.

As I was informed where the stone-work had gone, and being known to the London firm who were the purchasers, I communicated my wishes and asked if when the fitment had been repaired and scientifically cleaned, I might see a photograph.

With the usual kindness and courtesy associated with that firm[1] I was promised that after the chimney-piece reached New York and had been erected it should be photographed and a copy sent to me.

The print eventually reached me with many apologies for the delay and all the trouble I had been put to on this account.

The illustration of this carved stone chimney-piece, photographed after repair and careful cleaning, shows us what we have unwittingly lost. (Plate II).

It was apparently carved from Ham Hill stone, and reached from floor to ceiling in this old Mary-le-Port Street house, a height of about eight feet, and a width of about 6 feet 4 inches.

The chimney-piece stood in the principal room of the house and was erected probably soon after the middle of the sixteenth century, at a time when great wealth was being accumulated in the City.

We are, of course, instantly attracted by the Shield of Arms, just as we were in looking at the earlier picture, and

[1] Messrs. Charles of Brook Street, W.2.

TUDOR CHIMNEY-PIECE BEARING THE CORDWAINERS ARMS.

Facing Page 90.

these are naturally of the greatest interest for they are those of the

CORDWAINERS COMPANY

of London,[1] being—" Azure a Chevron Or between three Goats heads erased 2 and 1 argent attired of the second." The crest—Goats head erased argent attired or.

This chimney-piece is a particularly fine example of the Tudor period. The shield with crest above, is garnished by delicate carving, with caryatid pilasters and massive brackets at sides. It has well moulded jambs to the fire-place with two shelves over, and a double lintel with carved panels of scroll work and monsters, the centre and end trusses bearing Tudor roses set in strap-work design.

Having described the discovery as far as facts lend their aid, the first questions you will ask are what house or building was this, and who lived there ?

That is precisely what we wish to learn and it is hoped that some members may be able to elucidate the mystery.

We know full well that the fitments of houses in the Middle ages are frequently the only key to a date or a period, and the chimney-piece is often the most reliable guide.

But here—apart from the Guild Arms—we have no initials, no date, and no personal shield. I suggest, therefore, that instead of looking upon this as the home of a rich burgher we may venture to consider the building to be the

CORDWAINERS HALL

for you will notice that the Arms of the Company are set in the centre of the chimney-piece, which is not usual in the case of a private citizen, who would give the greatest prominence to his own armorial bearings.

Of course further investigation may prove otherwise, but this is my present opinion. A cordwainer, according to the New English Oxford Dictionary is a worker in

[1] The same Arms were in use at Exeter where there was a powerful Guild.

cordwain or Cordovan leather; the name of the trade guild, or company of Shoemakers. It is one of the oldest of the London Companies, the Ordinances dating from 1272, and the first Charter of Incorporation being the seventeenth year of Henry VI (1439).

Our *Little Red Book* chronicles some of the very interesting Ordinances of the Craft of Cordwainers of the town of Bristol, between the year 1408 and 1477, covering the earliest period of its existence, but beyond this we do not appear to have any records.

An interesting reference is given by Latimer[1] to the Guilds of Weavers and Cordwainers going yearly—in the sixteenth century—in pompous array to the Chapel of St. Anne-in-the-Wood, at Brislington, to place candles before the altar, but we seem to have no further information about this most important trade guild.[2]

There is ample evidence that a SCHOOL OF IRONWORK existed here about the beginning of the eighteenth century for we have examples of very fine screen work at Temple, St. Mary Redcliffe and St. Nicholas, all by the same artist, one William Edney, who carried out most of the best work left in this City.

Of SWORD RESTS Bristol has few of particular interest. It may therefore be well to place on record the fact that the one belonging to ST. MARY-LE-PORT CHURCH which apparently was taken down at the last restoration over forty years ago, and had been lying about within the precincts of the Church in two parts all that time, was taken in hand by two members of this Society several

[1] *Sixteenth Century Bristol*, 1908, p. 5.

[2] The Clerk to the Cordwainers Company of London [C. H. W. Mander, Esq., M.A., LL.M.] says that practically the whole of the papers of the guild were destroyed in the fire of 1666, so regrets he is unable to give any assistance in our investigations. He says, however, that like many other cities in England and on the continent, the Leather Merchants and Boot and Shoe workers formed a Company in Bristol, and having regard to the trade carried on in that City it would no doubt have been a rather important Guild.

Sword-rest, St. Mary-le-Port Church, Bristol.

Facing Page 93.

years ago, who had it repaired and re-decorated[1] by Messrs. Singer and Sons of Frome. (Plate III).

There was considerable contention as to its proper position, and the matter was deferred for a more convenient season. Finally the present Rector, the Rev. A. J. Day, M.A., and his Warden, gave consent to our request, and this interesting late seventeenth century sword rest, ornamented by eight double scrolls, surmounted by a crown, was re-fixed on the 3rd November, 1920, by Messrs. Gardiner, Sons and Co., on the north side of the nave facing west, where the Lord Mayor's Sword—the insignia of authority—will be seen on any future state visit to this Church.

It may not be uninteresting to record some of the other ironwork in Bristol, the principal examples being undoubtedly the work of the "Edney School."

St. Mary Redcliffe.

Iron gates and screens: in the churchwardens' accounts for 1710 are entered two payments to William Edney, Smith, one for iron gates to chancel of £60, and another of £50 for two pairs of gates at side of chancel and two pairs of hatches into middle chancel.

Temple.

The superb screens in this church were erected in April, 1726, but the accounts do not supply any other information. They have been moved at various times. The sword rest, 8 feet in height, is not considered equal to the other work. Eighteenth century.

Christ Church.

Sword rest, bearing Royal Arms and letters C.R.; surmounted by crown—6 feet 6 inches high.

St. John.

An elegant sword rest, 4 feet 6 inches high. Eighteenth century.

[1] The cost was defrayed by Mr. A. W. Page.

St. Nicholas.

The date of erection of the gates in this church is not known. As their position was altered in 1743, according to a note in the vestry book, it is almost certain they were constructed before that year.

The sword rest 10 feet in height which bears the monogram of Queen Anne is probably as fine as any other specimen in England.

St. Thomas.

In the churchwardens' old book of accounts is this entry, "1722, July 13. Three gates to be set up at the three entrances of the chancel."

These must have disappeared when the old church was destroyed in 1789. They were probably the work of the "Edney School."

St. Mary-le-Port.

The old sword rest, 7 feet high, is described in the previous note.

There are other examples of sword rests in Bristol but all probably of later date..

The last Picturesque House at the top end of Small Street, with double gable roofs and overhanging frontage —known as Nos. 25 and 26—has disappeared. It was demolished during the Autumn of last year, the site being incorporated in the new building now being erected for the London Joint City and Midland Bank, at the corner of Corn Street and Small Street.

The only interest in this property was in its exterior being one of the few remaining central landmarks of the City. It had been repaired so many times externally that probably no part of the original structure remained. Further, it had always been tenanted, though its history recorded many changes of occupiers during its long life, owing to its position in the heart of the City and in such an important street. It had undoubtedly been occupied for business purposes for more than a century.

Although many papers have been written about the history of this street, a good deal has come to light in recent years, and it would be well if some member would make an effort to collate all available facts and correct the legendary stories about Charles I and Cromwell, and Colston, and Creswick, and many noble ladies, who were entertained here.

In the meantime may I commend for your perusal Latimer's paper on "Colston's House" in the Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club, vol. II, of extraordinary interest; and William George's contribution on Small Street, to be found in the *Bristol Times and Mirror*, of January 5th, 1885, under the "nom de plume" of Cabot.[1] This latter contribution was a caustic reply to the late Mr. William Pethick's reference to Small Street in the Town Council, when he defined this street as "only a back lane to Broad Street."

"For hundreds of years there was not within the walls of Bristol a more fashionable Street," and to-day it still claims relics of the earliest Norman domestic architecture that we possess—only scanty remains of a burgess's house—happily under the protection of the Law Society—also remains of the fifteenth century house incorporated in the same—which was developed from the former, as many of you know. Unfortunately all other of the great houses are demolished, but some of the important chimney-pieces have been saved.

The two Elton chimney-pieces have been re-erected in the Bristol Water Works Offices, the two from the County Court Offices, which had to come down, are now in the offices of the General Post Office, almost in situ; and the very fine Elizabethan carved stone chimney-piece, with panels representing the "five senses" still stands in No. 15 in this street, known as the Assize Courts Hotel.

[1] 100 copies printed for private circulation.

The Bank extension necessitated the demolition of the quaint narrow passage just below the over-hanging structure we have referred to, as well as the houses surrounding it. That large dwelling-house standing on the north side of what has been styled "Small Street Court," has been known to many City men in the way of business in passing in and out, but probably few are aware that this was the house selected by the Council on the 10th July, 1649 to provide convenient lodging for Cromwell, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, against his coming here on his way to that benighted country. This town house of Alderman Jackson,[1] where the Lord General was entertained at the "City's charge" has been referred to as situated in Small Street, within a retired and gloomy Court, and in its rooms are traces of antiquity, in highly decorated chimney-pieces, bearing heraldic distinctions of the Jackson family. It is therefore clear that this is the house which was finally demolished only last week. It faced south and can be identified on Millerd's great plan of 1673.[2]

During the demolition, Mr. W. F. Read, Clerk of Works, who had been watching the destruction of the building foot by foot, with extraordinary interest, has found ample proof that this was originally a timber structure, probably of the fifteenth century, when a great *hall* occupied the space of the two rooms referred to, of which traces of the original chimney remained.

Amongst many other alterations to the house during the second quarter of the seventeenth century and by imposing a floor, two rooms were formed, the upper apartment having a finely moulded ceiling and a carved stone chimney-piece of the Jacobean period. The plaster oval

[1] Alderman Miles Jackson, Mayor, 1649; Sheriff, 1631; M.P., 1654; Master Merchants Venturers, 1650.

[2] Photographs taken in January, and on March 28, were shown at the meeting.

of the ceiling is an exceptionally good example; in the centre is a design of strap work with fruit and flowers, and corner ornaments of interesting character, in particular one of a grotesque half figure.

The room on the ground floor, also, has a stone chimney-piece, though the lower part has been much injured in times past; the fine caryatid jambs which remain support an elaborately carved over-mantel divided into two panels. The left space with a Jacobean border is filled by an oval shield of scroll and leaf design with cherub head over, carrying the arms of the Jackson family, and a similar shield on the right bears the City arms.

This room had originally a moulded plaster ceiling, similar to its upper apartment, and with panelled walls of which little remains. The house has been so much pulled about in years past that all further details are lost.

Facing this house on the south side of this narrow Court was formerly the "Ship Tavern" one of the last old houses of great evening resort for men connected with business in the City.[1] It was here in 1759 that the first "Grateful" dinner was held at 2 o'clock p.m. when twenty-two sat down.[2] A small stone water trough, used by this tavern many years ago, was visible up to a few days since.

Many hoped that some interesting relics might turn up during the demolition and excavation but nothing of importance was found—just a small dark green glazed pipkin with scored decoration—2¾ inches diameter, by 2 inches high—probably fifteenth century, which was damaged, and three seventeenth century tobacco pipes.

Over ten years since I read an unfinished paper at short notice, to fill a gap in our evening programme, on the

[1] *Bristol Times*, June 22, 1850.
[2] Latimer's *Annals, xviiith cent.*, p. 280.

TOBACCO PIPES of BRISTOL and their MAKERS, which I hope to give in its entirety with some additions, on a future occasion; but I regret having to place on record to-night the closing of the industry of CLAY PIPE MAKING, which had been carried on here by one family for over two centuries. The last kiln of pipes was burnt on Friday, 9th December, 1921, by Messrs. T. George and Co., at their Factory, No. 35, Great George Street, in the parish of St. Jude's, in this City.

This decision was much regretted by the family of three generations, who worked at the factory up to the last, but the indisputable fact is that the advent of the wood pipe, and the cigarette, to be found in the mouth of nearly every sanitary dustman, has almost superseded the healthy old-fashioned clay; besides which, the bulk of the foreign trade has almost gone.

The only clay pipes I have come across during the past year are the three seventeenth century bowls from Small Street, already referred to.

Lastly, I have lately been informed by the Keeper of Coins that the British Museum has recently acquired a BRISTOL SILVER PENNY OF ÆTHELRED THE UNREADY (978-1016). This coin bears the inscription on the obverse ÆDELRÆD, and on the reverse ÆLFþERD ON BRIC, which indicates that it was struck by ÆLFWERD, a moneyer, at Bristol. (Plate IV).

I understand that only two of these Saxon pennies are known, the other being in the Stockholm Museum, and as I believe the specimen now in London came from Sweden, it is surmised these two pennies reached that country amongst the coinage paid as part of the great tax of Danegelt.

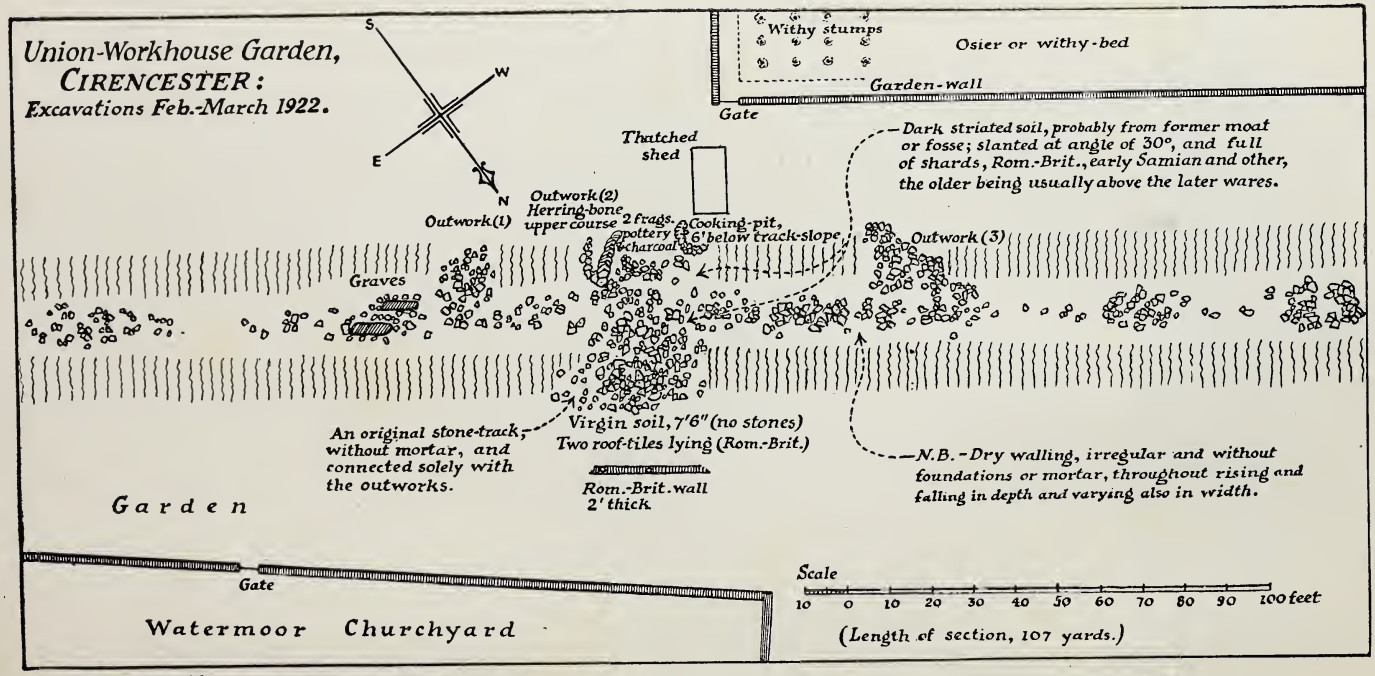
This penny records *the first historic fact connected with Bristol* and is therefore of extraordinary interest to us.

PLATE IV.

SILVER PENNY MINTED AT BRISTOL.
Aethelred the Unready, 978—1016.

Facing Page 98.

I am fortunately able to give an illustration of this almost unique piece, which has not been done before, through the courtesy of the Keeper of Coins at the British Museum (G. F. Hill, Esq., F.B.A.) who has kindly sent me a cast for this purpose.



Facing page 101.

THE EXCAVATION AT CIRENCESTER

(*Corinium Dobunorum*).

February—March, 1922.

By St. Clair Baddeley.

(With Eight Plates).

" The Roman Towns which do not show the theoretical regularity of Plan must be explained by supposing that in such cases the Roman invaders had merely occupied the whole or part of some existing British Town, subordinating their own theories (*i.e.* official type of town) to existing facts, or to topographical conditions which interfered with their theories." (Cf. Earthworks of England, p. 336, A. H. Allcroft).

THAT some points in this fuller and later account of the work carried out at Cirencester will be found at variance with the contemporaneous account supplied by request to the local journal (*Wilts. and Glos. Standard*), will be no matter of surprise, and probably it requires no explanation. It is hardly ever possible to give true perspective to accumulating archæological data without allowing some interval in which duly to weigh them. In the present case considerations are rendered more than usually complicated by the nature and conditions of the site of the Town, presenting, as it does, quite a peculiar coffin-shaped area dropping lengthwise 25 feet in one mile, and through which, not only the Churn flows in its original more or less winding bed, but around three sides of which a (*Romano-British*) diverted portion of its waters has in ancient days been artificially turned in order, doubtless, to render both more formidable and more salubrious the northern and eastern *fosse*, and still flows at its own level, while the water of a secondary streamlet (the *Duntisburne* or *Daglingworth*) has similarly fed the remaining (now obliterated) fosse upon the long western

flank; this water being now culverted. It will be safe further to state that at no similarly extensive Romano-British town-site known to us as having been recently explored have such problems, both archæological and historical, been hitherto so little grappled with as these at Cirencester; and the reason has no doubt been owing to their unusual complexity. It will, we trust, become plain to the reader that much of the Romano-British and later history of this Dobunic town must surely have depended upon careful Hydrostatic control. It is well known that certain time-honoured (and not unnatural) conceptions as to a great and continuous military wall of the usual heavily-mortared and faced masonry of Imperial days, have haunted the writings and sayings of all those conversant with Cirencester for well over three centuries past. It has thus come to be taken for granted that the (partly surviving) "City-bank" (or *vallum*), with its moat or fosse, which engirdle this area of 240 acres, was of old, and still is, though concealed to-day, accompanied by one of those powerfully towered and gated Roman walls, such as have been found and measured at London, at Uriconium, at Caerwent, and at the far more exposed Legionary towns of that period,—walls usually to be attributed to the example started by Aurelian at Rome, in A.D. 272. That in 1540 Leland noted not merely the then far loftier city-bank or mound, punctuated here and there along its course by masonried remains of perhaps the former gates, or the smaller posterns, of the R-British town and should therefrom have concluded that one continuous wall must have encircled the town, was but natural. He did not know that so great a Roman town might have been non-military[1] but civilian, and not

[1] With an entire Legion, but 50 miles away at *Caerleon*, whence and (if needed), a force could reach *Corinium* in three or four hours by the main roads, the necessity of a towered girdle of wall, in addition to vallum and flowing fosse, certainly did not press here.

needing any garrison. The friendly Abbot even showed him part of an official Imperial inscription, almost certainly pointing to one of the greater Gateways.[1] No other conclusion as to the mound containing a wall could well have entered his mind; and this notion came in later days to be accepted without question by Hearne, Browne-Willis, by Stukeley, and later by Rudder, who with but little additional (and regrettably imperfect) evidence, carried on this tradition, by applying it to the finding in his day, and under his observation, of some fragmentary solid remains along the eastern line of the city-bank. Consequently, until to-day there seems to have arisen, neither locally, nor in the archæological world, any idea that this conception might need serious reconsideration. For, the presence of such a vast wall must have made the place a military centre, which we know it never was.

As far back as 1898, when first visiting Cirencester, having requested a local antiquary (and but little later, several other archæologists) to show ever so small a portion of indubitable Roman-Wall here, they frankly confessed either that they were unable to do so because it lay hidden under the city-bank (*i.e.* within it), or they declared on the contrary, that it had been built external to the bank or mound, but had been pulled to pieces by the former Abbots and the wealthy Wool-men in order to raise the Abbey, the Parish Church, and the short-lived Norman Castle (1142). All, however, agreed that solid traces of it had certainly been met with in the cutting made for the Midland and South Western Railway; though two of them stated that, at the chief point of the second intersection, on Cricklade Street (*Irmin*) some

[1] A Mr. Birch is widely reported to have met with two arches standing but a few years ago, at a point corresponding probably to the site of the South Gate on Irmin Street, what he has done with this extremely interesting find is variously related.

foundations disclosed belonged probably to the East Gate once there, and not to a great Wall. Since those days the writer has met other students who have taken the stricter view that the sole reliable evidence of properly-measured and described wall-masonry here met with (and identifiable with remains of some wall along the city-bank), is that so minutely given by the late Keeper of the Corinium (Earl Bathurst's) Museum, Prof. Sir A. H. Church, who, as much as any expert, deplored the lack of scientific evidence in all local writings upon this subject.

We are therefore inclined to view the description by this qualified eye-witness as to what he measured and scrutinised as probably the only evidence worth closely examining as to the existence of what has been ascribed to a great structural Wall. Let us, therefore, see what he says:—

"Just past *Grove Lane*, a road to the left separates one branch of the river Churn from the remains of the ancient Roman Wall (*i.e. here* he is evidently referring only to the mound). A little further on a course or two of the veritable dressed facing-stones of the Roman Wall may be seen *in situ*; while the earth-bank (*i.e.* mound or *vallum*) *behind them* is still in some places not less than 20 feet in height. A public walk is on the top."—The locality here pointed to is the commencement of Beeches Road (*La Beche* (*c*) 1240). Sir A. H. Church then proceeds (meanwhile taking his reader a couple of hundred yards south-eastward along this):—"Where this earth-bank trends to the west, forming the southern side of the Roman Town, a portion of the ancient wall remained tolerably perfect for a considerable distance till the year 1867, when the owner of the land gave permission to one of his tenants to cart the stones away."[1] He then brings us to

[1] No difficulty in doing this, no hardness of cement, nor other trouble, seemed to have occurred, such as is invariably the case with Roman defence-walls.

the really crucial point, the evidence as to this bit of ancient defensive wall at the time of its declared destruction (cf. *Guide to Museum*, p. 10). "This wall measured . . . . . four feet six inches through and six feet eight inches high where most perfect. *It was built chiefly of loose stones and rubble backed by earth*, but it had a complete facing of large dressed blocks, *put together without mortar*."

Now the obvious character of this so carefully described wall cannot be said in any single particular (if we except the dressed facing-stones), to agree with a Roman defensive town-wall. Firstly, it has barely the thickness of a mere bastion of such (*i.e.* 5′ 6″—6′); secondly, it retained no mortar, an element for such serious purpose always made specially strong and well-grouted. At best this masonry could represent but some hasty fronting addition to the city-bank made up of previously used materials. But it would not be safe to ascribe it even to such purpose as that; for it may well have been part of a mediæval structure, having nothing whatever to do (save in its materials) with Roman times or defences.

Hence, it will be understood that it has been no satisfaction to find the only exact literary evidence surviving as to a real military wall for this non-military centre of Corinium reducing itself upon scrutiny to these exceedingly feeble proportions. For the Abbots of St. Mary had built and worked their successive Mills in this very section of the moat and mound for centuries and may have possessed other structures (even small defensive outworks) in connection with these? At any rate, from whatever building this particular faced wall survived, it was certainly not part of an Imperial girdle of defence, and no more even of this has been found in our time.

It may further here be added that both Leland's (c. 1540) and other later recorded evidences of solid foundations, and even arched stones, and supposed tower-

bases, where discovered, far more directly point to the positions of the various town gates that certainly existed, minor and major, and to which streets led, than to a great military Wall. That Corinium like smaller towns, possessed double-arched typically towered gates is, of course, not here in question; nor probably ever will it be. But since we know that the foundations (where they do occur) of such concreted stone-faced Roman walls in Britain are quasi-indestructible, and that examples of these are fairly abundant; and, secondly, that, after at any rate the sixth century (though probably long before), the population (and also the habitable area of *Corinium* or *Caer-ceri*) must have become reduced to very humble defensible dimensions,—that the late-Saxon College of Prebendaries here was at no period a flourishing institution, —that the great Norman Abbey that succeeded it was only built in the XIIth century, just before the comparatively new and short-lived Castle was burned down by King Stephen (1142) to rise no more;—and, finally, that, until less than a century back, the extensive *Watermoor* lower half of the site was composed of a succession of ill-drained pasture-fields, often flooded orchards, and nurseries, and before that, for centuries, was merely what its name denotes,—it was, and it is impossible to accept the notion that two miles of Roman town-wall has been rooted up from its huge and noble foundations merely to build mediæval *Cirencester*.

Disturbed therefore, by these conflicting traditions and evidences, and yet desiring that the great bastioned *enceinte* should not prove to be a myth, the only hope of proof for long years seemed to lie in obtaining leave, somehow and at sometime, to select a promising site or two along the obvious lines of the city-bank, and there, with help of the spade, to discover the nature, or perhaps the non-existence, of this truly elusive Wall.

Facing-stones, of course, are evidences of faced buildings;

but Ciceter, it is proved, possessed, besides convenient quarries, very important public structures of stone, some of them, besides gates, at no distance from its ancient boundary-lines; consequently, we should have in such excavations to find such stones either *in situ*, or else, to discover the mortared and grouted core of the Wall from which they had become, either by decay, or perhaps by violence, detached, or at base of which they were still plentifully lying concealed.

It was, therefore, with surprise and pleasure that in February, 1922, the writer received a note from Mrs. Wilfred Cripps, inviting him, relative to an agreement completed by her with the Guardians of the Union Workhouse, to excavate and explore within their long and sheltered garden at Watermoor, where we know that no mediæval buildings can have obstructed the rich soil, and where the lowered city-bank had been met with only a little over half a century ago, by the late Mr. Bravender and others employed on the drainage and survey, and wherein the late Mr. Kennett Beecham had then viewed, and noted down at a certain point, some stonework of so extensive a character that in his enthusiasm he became inclined to refer it to the base of a Roman tower, though he knew it to be (and has mapped it) standing within (not upon) the wall-line. But we have met with some indication in his kindly-given notes that he was not uninfluenced in coming to such a conclusion by feeling that there perhaps *ought* to have been such a tower there in order to correspond with the reputed one mentioned by Leland over upon the N.E. side of the town opposite. He became indeed possessed with this idea of symmetry.

While the present *withy-bed*, corresponding more or less, to the ancient moat or fosse, lies outside (W.) of the garden-wall, the extensive Union Workhouse (saving its working-yard and one or two small timbered sheds) stands considerably back (N.E.) of that wall; so that the earth-

hidden mound or city-bank line passes between these two. A portion of the garden-wall thereabouts displays (externally) some four hundred well-dressed stones certainly attributable to Roman date; and these have been often taken for granted to belong to the great city-wall; but a sufficiently strong recollection by local folk of their traditional provenance ascribes them (probably correctly), to some important ancient building that was encroached upon, and deleted, when the rear (N.E.) portion of the Workhouse was built.[1] One nevertheless could not but hope that excavation might tell some other tale.

Terms having been agreed and labour conceded, the rough season, as well as the coming demands of the kitchen-garden plantings, bade us lose no time. Many a day seemed only too likely to be seriously spoiled by the violent sleet and rain which, by hampering digging, would waste a precious opportunity.

The objects mainly to be held in view, therefore, were: (1) determination of the characters of both the mound (*vallum*), and (if found) of any structural wall; (2) their respective foundations, and the virgin soil whence they rise; (3) whether the wall, as at London and elsewhere, was strengthened by semi-circular (or possibly square) bastions; whether it fronted to the fosse or moat by a slope or *berm*; (4) finally, the nature of Mr. Beecham's supposed tower foundations situated at 50 feet (S.W.) from the commencement of Watermoor churchyard wall.

At no less than four separated points, in a direct line eastwards from the entrance of the Workhouse yard through the long garden, the surface was now laid open, parallel with the path, exposing at each of these points the desired rubble mound or city-bank, here shorn no doubt of many feet of its original elevation, but still thoroughly compact and continuous, if obviously irregular.

[1] Such findings would be likely here for the Central Forum and Basilica lay but a short distance from it.

Each of these surface-openings became gradually extended, and the western face in each case was followed slowly down as far as the excessive rains would permit. Although for nearly three weeks on this account it was not possible to reach the real foundation, a careful collecting of pottery and objects, such as fibulae and coins, was made, and the nature of the upper mound was everywhere thoroughly examined. Moreover, at the second and third openings (which were now connected up) important spurs or outworks of quite irregular form, but of homogeneous attachment with the mound were found extended from the western face, one of them to as much as 14 feet (W.) Could these, in any consideration, perchance, represent the cores of aforetime external bastions along a wall from which every trace of facing-stone perhaps had been torn off? or whence it had fallen to where, when the waters subsided in our trenches, we must yet surely come upon them? Close scrutiny of the structure only too sternly declared that both mound and outworks persistently reveal only ancient dry-walling; that is, they have been raised and strengthened without use so-ever of mortar, that all the stone-work is literally without foundation, and that the irregularities of its width and depth and lack of method or uniformity of width to the earth mound that carries it (sometimes it is barely 4 feet thick), shewed the whole mass of it to be ancient, but not Roman work at all. Further, the various finds, save occasional coins, (and coins will get down anywhere), occurred usually in the rich upper soil, and close to the surface, and (as will be noticed further on) the best Samian fragments lay nearer to it than the inferior or (actually, in date) later forms of pottery. The digging, however, now continued and became concentrated more and more upon two points.

As the withy-bed at present lies quite outside the garden-wall, if it accurately represents the original fosse, this

lies further from the mound (*i.e.* 50 feet) or city-bank, than does the corresponding fosse (or moat), upon the N.E. flank of the town. But there is reason for thinking that excavation (by cutting a five foot trench away westward from the mound and at right angles) would reveal the causes of that difference in ancient successive clearings of the moat thrown up towards, and even over, the city-bank.

The rain-water having now sunk from the trenches, careful search and probing in the bottoms was made; but no trace of a single facing-stone, nor a fragment of one, was anywhere to be found, nor of mortar, though at one point a pocket of stiffened sand was temporarily mistaken for this last. At the third extended opening, close to the site of Mr. Beecham's conjectural tower, we now came upon by far the most interesting evidences we were to deal with. They fall under four categories.

First, the comparatively sharp line continuity of the rubble or dry-walling (mound) here gave way (for a length of some thirteen feet) to a deliberately interposed sloping saddle or track made of far larger stones (equally innocent of mortar) and sloping down east-ward (at an angle of (c) 30 deg.) for some 27 feet in length, as though representing a track from within the town to pass out over the mound-wall. When fully exposed, this only presented the character of a rough stone-track, such as we find at the exits or entrances of Bronze Age camps in this and other Cotswold districts; Painswick, Uley, etc. It had no stone margins binding it, as had such tracks in Roman settlements. On the inner (or N.E.) termination of it, we reached the virgin (yellow) gravel at 7′ 6″; but while endeavouring to do likewise on the other, or S.W. side when, instead of sloping down, it totally gave out, and, at six feet down, we lighted upon two probably prehistoric cooking-pits, containing burnt stuff. These pits are also made of dry-walling. Adjoining this spot eastward,

and at a level of five feet above the hollow thus formed, were noted remains of a rough herring-bone edging to an outwork (fragmentary), shown in the photograph. Such herring-bone may or may not be pre-Roman. It does not mark a period. Lastly, and just beyond the base of the inner (*western*) rise of the sloping stone track, or saddle, we met with a portion of a two-foot Romano-British house-wall, upon which lay two pieces of hexagonal stone-tile. This rough slope from both its position and the extent of its stoned area, coincides with the foundations which Mr. Beecham attributed to a possible tower.[1] No sign of facing stone or mortar was met with in any part of it; and, as it has no foundations, it is conclusively no tower, nor ever was it.

However, an unexpected element, but involving another kind of interest, now made itself manifest. Whilst driving the opening for about 30 feet right over this stone-track, the cleanly-intersected soil from the garden surface downwards upon the western flank had displayed a series of slanting layers, differing in shade or colour (some of the streaks amounting to almost a black mud), and evenly superposed the one upon another. Here was an extensive mass consisting of many tons of darkish vegetable soil artificially thrown down at some perhaps remote period over the mound or city-bank, from without it (right to left), and taking its uniform angle or slope from that of the said bank below it. But still other masses of it lay also over and against the western point of the bank. These will prove rich to the future explorer.

Upon searching this, pottery and shards, all of them Roman, made their frequent appearance, but the more ancient and the best Samian pieces were found invariably uppermost and the inferior wares lay below. Almost nothing modern or mediæval was met with. The

[1] It is difficult to imagine the use of a tower at such a position, where the slope up over Chesterton must have overlooked it.

position, the slanting layers, the distribution of the pottery, in addition to the nature of the soil and the general absence of mediæval and modern shards, seemed sufficiently to suggest ancient clearings of the adjoining moat, such as the Roman régime of the town doubtless ordered from time to time in view both of safety and salubrity; although in the flourishing days of the Empire such accumulations may have been regularly carted away elsewhere and spread over the fields. In more perilous and less disciplined days (perhaps at the close of Roman rule in Britain), the operation might certainly have been carried out in a rough and ready manner, and without regard to the displeasure of the neighbouring householders. It may also be remarked that enemies from the S.W., approaching from over Chesterton to attack the town on this side would have had no difficult task if the moat either through neglect or drought did not run or had become dry. But speculation is needless. Chesterton itself may well have been the earliest Roman station here.

At the (by this time) connected fourth opening on the *vallum*, or city-bank, some forty feet east of this and of the small timber shed, were found two graves lying along the top of the said bank and hollowed within its dry-walling. They lay with an interval between them. No remains were met with in these,—according to the workmen who opened them inconveniently early one morning. That this whole section (by its track and three outworks) betrayed its ancient importance cannot be gainsaid. Every feature pointed to this. But the digging now drew to its natural close. The time-limit could not well be extended. Spring and a genial sunshine demanded the covering in of our sites (as agreed upon), for raising needful supplies of produce for the Workhouse.

In consequence of the various features here clearly disclosed, we now directed our energies to visiting the N.E. sector of the city-bank, across Water-moor, and

Union Workhouse in background. Exposed dry walling of mound. Centre shows head of sloping stone track (to Outwork) descending into camp.

Photo. by permission of Mrs. Wilfred Cribbs

Left foreground shows an original Outwork projecting west from Vallum. Behind that (right) head of stone track leading up to Outwork. The Wall line of Vallum travelling westward. The Cooking-pits lie in the hollow (left).

Photo. by permission of Mrs. Wilfred Cripps.

Withy-stumps on site of moat or fosse. Wall of garden also contains a few ancient stones but not from the mound.

Photo by permission of Mrs. Wilfred Cripps

Portion of an Outwork or platform, shewing repair (?) in rough herring-bone. Below, where stand the workers (outside the Vallum), occur two Cooking-pits. Soil appears, outside, and over, the Vallum (by its slanting striations and dark colour), to derive from clearings of the moat or fosse.

East end of excavated line of Vallum, or city-bank. Watermoor churchyard wall (left). Two open graves lying along surface.

Photo by permission of Mrs. Wilfred Cripps.

The incline (E–W) of dry-wall track up to Outwork (26 ft. long). Two Cooking-pits containing charcoal lie (at 6 ft. depth) to left of gabled shed.

Photo. by permission of Mrs. Wilfred Cripps.

with help of the iron bar, to examining the construction, as far as might be possible, of the still lofty mound that rises there. This was done chiefly in order to find whether, as we suspected, this coincided (and as Prof. Sir Arthur Church's notes had led one to think) in make with that of the lowered western city-bank where we had been at work.

The results here obtained entirely tended to corroborate the other experience. The mound upon one side of Corinium is the same, is homogeneous, and is of like date with the mound upon the other side; and presumably they were both thrown up at one period and by the same people. But, instead of finding them to be of Roman Imperial construction, or, formed as has been hitherto accepted, during the late Empire, so as to enclose the by then far-expanded, but not yet endangered, Corinium, we find that they are of precisely identical character with the dry-walled mounds that encircle many other Cotteswold settlements, made by pre-Roman tribes. In the present case, therefore, the probability seems to point to the Dobuni (or a previous people,—perhaps the Cornavii), having been the makers, and the survival of this great dry-walled mound accounts, it will be perceived, not merely for the exceptional extent, which it is probable even Roman Corinium did not any too closely pack, at its most populous period (for there have been noticed large areas here where no Roman foundations have been met with),—but for the fact that the early Imperial sculptured funerary monuments (now in the Museum) were (in 1836) met with well within the said city-mound enclosure; and yet cannot have been reckoned when set up as being within the Roman town of say A.D. 100; so that the Roman town grew always from within the enclosure-camp towards those ancient and, of its native folk (doubtless for uncounted centuries), beloved ramparts; and the first Roman burials were thus made quite regardless of the early tribal *vallum* of the Cantonal enclosure.

OBJECTS FOUND DURING THE EXCAVATION.

BRONZE.

Finger-rings.
Ear-pick (?)
Spoon (*ligula*) rat-tailed; pointed handle.
Spilla.
A diminutive tripod (toy?) base—fine workmanship, having animals feet.
Early fibula enamelled.
Another fibula; plain.
Iron nails. Bone *spillae* and needles.

COINS.

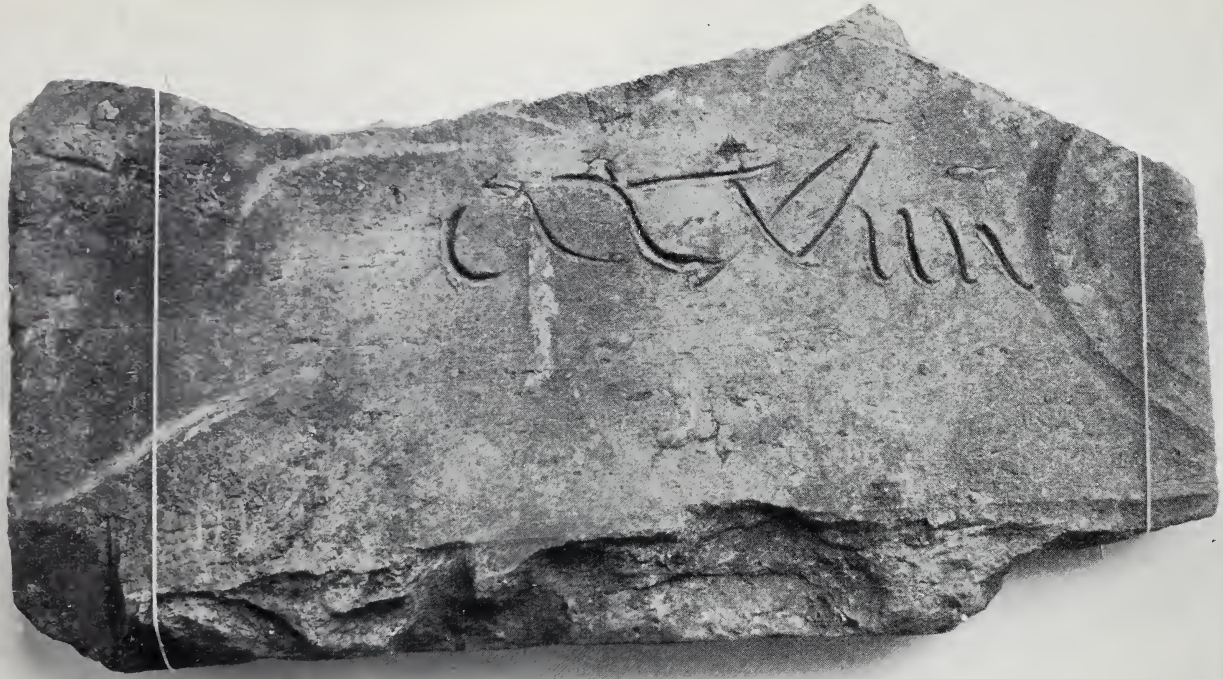
Many minimi of later Empire; mostly illegible.
Alexander Severus (*Pax eterna Augusta*).
Carausius.
Allectus.
Constantius.
Constantine.
1. rare Consular Denarius of Lucius Rubrius Dossenus (c) 86 B.C. Head of Jupiter Laureate; behind sceptre and [Dossen].

Reverse. Triumphal Quadriga ornamented with thunderbolt on it. Victory with a wreath below L. RUBRI (*much-worn*). (*Ex inform*: G. F. Hill, Esq.)

POTTERY. (Samian Ware).

Stamped:	Arici Ma(*nu*)	Fragments of Amphora handle (buff).
	Asiatici of(*ficina*)	
	Attili M(*anu*)	Fragments of Mortaria and Colanders (grey).
	Dagomar(*us*) F(*ecit*)	Roofing tile fragments; (*hexagonal*).
	Iccti Ma(*nu*)	
	Macrin(*i*) Ma(*nu*)	Glass-handles of R.—Br. bottle.

Martili (*Manu*)
Masculus (*Fecit*) Large pebbles (not red)
Several rivetted *Samian* fragments. A flat red (*waterworn*) pebble. Bones and teeth of horse; pig; ox and horn-cores of (?) cows.



INSCRIBED TILE FOUND AT CIRENCESTER, 1922.

Facing Page 117

ON THE INSCRIBED BRICK-TABULA FOUND AT CIRENCESTER.

By St. Clair Baddeley.

(With Plate).

THE tile illustrated was found in a heap of fallen wall-tiles in one of the rooms of a R.-Br. house in Victoria Road, Cirencester on 9th Feb., 1922. The deposit could be detected just shewing itself under the edge of some two feet of dark soil where the exposition of one of the pavements found had perforce to leave off. Hence, although the propinquity to a vigorous young apple-tree root made us careful for its owner's sake, examination of the spot made it just possible to get out a great part of the tiles without doing real harm. Many more are there still. Special requests to the workmen employed and to the intelligent foreman, as to the need and importance of finding an inscription of any kind, whether in brick or stone, had a fortunate effect. For, on next revisiting the site I was at once told of this find and that of a number of ordinary tiles bearing already familiar lettered stamps.

On being produced I was aware that we had found something of a very singular character and quite outside the ordinary inscribed factory-tile with a fabric mark.

Several features declared this to be the case.

First of all there was the unusual measurement. The total length=$16\frac{5}{8}''$. The width, $5''$ though incomplete, may be estimated (probably) at $7''$, because the Inscription occurs placed as though calculated just to avoid the tile-man's semi-circular (double) brush-mark as well as to be opposite its natural middle or the centre of the half-circle.

The next peculiarity shews that the tile had a special feature, namely, a raised projecting ridge or border (probably top and bottom), all along its length and starting with a broad chamfer, or flat splay, evidently of some definite functional purpose, *i.e.* some (? wooden) support or attachment. This is most unusual.

This last (*left*) if taken with the nature and position of the inscription parallel to (and above) it, may reasonably suggest that this inscribed tile was placed where it could be well seen and easily read, *i.e.* upon some wall of the House. This seems to be the more likely as there was no mortar found within the cursive lettering and numerals, which would not have been the case had the tile been embedded as are fabric-tiles or hypocaust ones. The semi-circular "brush-mark" is quite common on tiles of various sizes and is quite independent of their official letterings.

Next, the cursive was made with a *stylus* of bone, or perhaps, of metal; and it shews a mature professional hand-writing.

The abbreviated grouping clearly discovers

CLLTXVIIII

The latter figures (representing our more modern XIX), are preceded by four letters, the purport of which formula is, up till the present, elusive, for we have so far no precise parallel to this example. That others, though imperfect, resembling it did exist is, however, made practically certain by the former finding at Berkeley (1865) of two tiles, one of which is now in the Museum at Bath (cf. *Vict. Hist. Co. Som.* vol. 1, p. 285)

:DCLVI (?)

where the same raised ridges are fully represented, though the lettering is damaged.

Neither the nature of these inscriptions nor the numerals upon either point necessarily to anything Legionary; nor,

of course, was Corinium a military centre any more than was Berkeley. How such tiles reached Berkeley is not known.

The number 19, however, upon a "*tabula*" or "*tegula*" affixed to some wall in an important finely paved-house, in such a town as was Corinium, suggests one or two questions? For example, can it have denoted the distance to or from a *Trajectus*, or ferry, across Severn, at *Glevum* (or *Clevum*, as the Itinerary calls it). It will be observed that *CL* equally occurs upon the Berkeley-Bath tile, though without letters between it and the numerals. In the case of our tile, although 19 Roman miles might pretty fairly stand for the distance, i.e. from *Glevum*, we should be still confronted with *LT*, which scarcely can mean *Legionis Trajectum*; while, in the case of the other tile (of a certainty imperfect), it is not possible to say whether the *CL* should represent *Clevum* or *De Clevo*, or *castrum Legionis*; nor, indeed, whether the tiles found incorporated in the church, were brought thither from a distance, or were found (as we believe) near Berkeley? Until fresh examples of similar type shall be forthcoming it will be safer to acknowledge our inability to fix the evidently definite significance of either. The House whereto it belonged stood near the Cricklade Gate of Cirencester; and it may have been that of some official of the district.

In the same excavation numerous examples of familiar local tile-maker's stamps also came to hand, and fortunately, among them were several which confirmed the force of our suspicions long entertained as to the fragmentary tiles (both in the Cripps Museum and in that of Lord Bathurst), bearing the letters I..HS. and which (it is well known), have persistently been mis-attributed to the famous 7th cent. Christian formula. In the new and fresh examples these initials of a tile-maker (or owner of a kiln), are clearly LHS. A good example is now in the

Gloucester Museum. The writer has presented the Cursive tile to the Earl and Countess of Bathurst, and it is now in the Corinium museum.

THE EARLY CHARTERS OF SAINT NICHOLAS CHURCH, BRISTOL.

Translated by Lewis J. Upton Way, F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

THE City of Bristol is rich in ancient churches. Many of the churches are rich in ancient charters. All Saints, St. Johns, St. James, St. Leonards, St. Mary le Port and St. Thomas have at different times yielded up their secrets to the antiquary. John Latimer when compiling "The Maire of Bristowe his Kalendar" drew upon all of them but seems to have allowed St. Nicholas, which we now know to possess a great store of documents, to escape his attention.

So it was with considerable interest that I learnt a short time since that the church wardens of St. Nicholas were looking into their archives and with much pleasure that I received an invitation to meet them in their crypt. My visit was well worth while, for amongst many other documents I was shewn the beautifully written and most interesting series of very early charters which by the courtesy of the Vicar, the Rev. T. J. Bowen, B.D., and Messrs. C. H. W. Davey and H. Hosegood his wardens, I am able to exhibit. (21st March, 1921).

Sixteen in number, these very early charters were written by fifteen different persons. In a wonderful state of preservation, in many cases retaining their seals, they reveal the names and pious benefactions of a large number of citizens of Bristol who lived during the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries.

One wonders who were the ready writers whose pens accomplished such perfect work. Were they monks or parochial clergy or lawyers' clerks of the period or the

merchants who made the grants enumerated within them. The credit is due to none of these but to a humble class of individual known as scribes or scriveners, who earned their living by exercising their skill in penmanship. In large towns where business was brisk they would need no other means of livelihood, but in country places probably combined these functions with the office of parish clerk. The nominal grantors were in most cases unable to do more than make their mark. One also wonders at the smallness of the deeds. This was owing to the high price of parchment prepared from the skins of sheep. With the increase of the wool trade, flocks became larger and more skins available, so towards the end of the 14th century deeds gradually increased in size; with the increase scriveners made use of more words and allowed their writing to spread abroad far more lavishly than their predecessors with their tiny and expensive parchments had dared to do.

Our first three charters are undated. We have to deduce their date from evidences contained within them. This is always a risky proceeding, a mistake of thirty or forty years can easily be made, as handwriting did not change simultaneously all over the country. A new style originating in London or imported from overseas took a long time to reach country places and even then the provincial scribe, especially if an old man, would hesitate to change the style to which he had grown accustomed.

The writing of the first charter is less careful than that of most of the series. From the formation of the characters and the use of a conventional sign consisting of a horizontal line between two dots for the word *est* we can fairly accurately judge the date to be about 1180. The charter is as follows:

To all Christ's faithful ones to whom this writing shall come, JOHN PUER chaplain of Saint Nicholas of Bristol and WALTER RUFUS parishioner of the same place.

Let it be universally known that BELEFUER widow of JOHN WARWAIN in her last sickness separately made her will and constituted us executors of the same will.

In which will she left to the church of the Blessed Saint Nicholas of which she was a parishioner six pence of rent for a lamp to burn by night. And left to Saint Mary Magdalene upon the heights of Bristol six pence to be paid and had annually at the feast of Saint Michael by the hands of the heirs of the said BELEFUER out of the land which is next the house of stone which belonged to WILLIAM POLLARD in WRPESLIPPESTRET which JORDAN LE FERUN held from the said BELEFUER in fee.

In witness whereof we have caused our seals to be affixed to this present writing.

With these witnesses HENRY PIPER chaplain, LUCA , GILES and WILLIAM GERNO, JOHN, GEOFFREY and RALPH AURIFABRIS, JORDAN, WALTER and HUGH DE PONTE and many others.

None of the names herein mentioned are to be found in Latimer's " Kalendar of the Mayors of Bristol."

Date about 1180.

Let present and future men know that I RICHARD SCRINARIUS of the Marsh of Saint Stephen in Bristol have given, granted and by this my present charter confirmed to the house and church of Saint Nicholas for a daily assistance of mass to the Blessed Mary to be celebrated in the chapel of the same church two pence of rent of assize to be paid at the birth of our Lord in pure and perpetual alms for my soul and for the soul of JULIANA my wife and for the souls of all my ancestors and successors from that land with the building upon it and its appurtenances in Scadpullestrete in the Marsh of Saint Stephen which I have given to JOHN my eldest son to wit from the principal Burgage which lies next the land which belonged to WALTER TANNATORIS from the north side.

To have and to pay the said twopence of annual rent from the said land with its buildings and its appurtenances to the said church of Saint Nicholas as is aforesaid at the mentioned term freely, quietly, pacifically and wholly free from condition or reclamation of my successors for ever. I and my heirs or my assigns will warrant, acquit and for ever defend the said two pence of rent against all men and women paid by me the aforesaid.

And in order that this my gift and grant and the confirmation of

my present letters may remain firm and valid for ever to this present writing I have affixed my seal.

With these witnesses THOMAS DE BERKHAM, HUGH DE MELINS, RICHARD TANNATOR, WILLIAM DE KYNGESWODE, HENRY DE LOCKWITH, WILLIAM WARRENER, HUGH DE CAELVESTUN and others.

The seal is of green wax much broken with a conventional flower of eight petals by way of device surrounded by a legend which appears to read, Sigillum Ricardi Scrinarii.

Endorsed: 11d. of the gift of Richard Scrinarius issuing from a certain tenement in Scadpullestrete in the Marsh of Saint Stephen.

None of the names here mentioned appear in Latimer's Kalendar. By the formation of the letters the date should be between 1200 and 1220.

Let present and future men know that I THOMAS FARDEIN son and heir of JAMES FARDEIN have given and granted and by this my present letter confirmed to ODO BRUN two shillings of yearly rent which JORDAN FENATOR and his heirs used to pay to me annually out of certain land in Worcheslop Strete in Bristol which lies between land which belonged to RALPH CORNATOR and land which belonged to CECILIE POLLART.

To have and to hold the aforesaid two shillings of annual rent to the said ODO and his heirs or assigns from me and my heirs freely and quietly, fully, peaceably and wholly for ever.

The aforesaid ODO and his heirs or assigns rendering yearly to me or my heirs one pair of white gloves or one silver penny at Eastertide whichever ODO and his heirs prefer, for all service, charges, and for all quitclaims and demands belonging to me or my heirs.

It shall also be lawful for the said ODO and his heirs and assigns to give, sell, mortgage or exchange the aforesaid two shillings of annual rent with whomsoever they will saving only our aforesaid annual payment.

But for this gift and concession and for the confirmation of this my present letter the said ODO has given to me two marks of sterling money.

Wherefore I THOMAS and my heirs will warrant the said two shillings of annual rent to the aforesaid ODO BRUN and his heirs

or assigns against all men and women forever for the aforesaid payment.

In order that the same may remain firm and valid I have affixed the impression of my seal to this letter, with these witnesses JOHN LA WARRER, RALPH LE PANAGE, WILLIAM PASSEMER, HENRY BLAKEMAN, HUGH BRUN, WALTER ROP, RALPH CORNATOR, WILLIAM LE MERCER, JOHN LE WORNERE, JOHN the clerk and others.

The seal of green wax has a rough flower in the centre surrounded by the legend "Sigillum Tome Fardein."

None of the names herein mentioned are to be found in Latimer's Kalendar. By the form of certain letters the date should be about 1230.

Endorsed, this is the charter of ODO BRUN concerning two shillings of rent of assize to be paid yearly for one light to the Blessed Mary by PHILIP DE CADWEL and RALPH LE TAVNUR and their heirs.
About 1230.

The next four charters I call the Filomena series as his name appears in each. He was the first Vicar of Saint Nicholas whose name has come down to us and held office from 1240 to 1286. We therefore know that these four charters must have been written between those two dates.

1240 to 1286.

Let present and future men know that I WILLIAM DUNING with the freewill and assent of AGNES my spouse have given and granted two shillings of rent of assize to be paid by my hands or those of my heirs or by the inhabitants in the place to this use after me every year at the four terms of the year, namely at the feast of Saint Michael vid. and at the Nativity of the Lord vid. and at Easter vid. and at the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist vid. to wit for the support of a chaplain who shall celebrate mass to the Blessed Mary the Virgin, in the chapel which is hard by the church of Saint Nicholas daily, from a ground which is between the land of PHILIP DE CADWELL on the east and the land of ADAM SELIMAN on the west, which I hold from THOMAS RUS and his heirs in BALUONESTRETE.

And that this my gift may stand firm for ever through my warrant and that of my heirs, I have affixed my seal to this writing.

With these witnesses WALTER FILOMENA then Vicar of the church of Saint Nicholas, HENRY ALBON chaplain, THOMAS LONG, HENRY LANGBORD, WILLIAM DE BELLOMONTE, WALTER MITTELIME, WILLIAM SKYNNARIUS, and others.

The seal is missing.

Walter Filomena was Vicar of Saint Nicholas from 1240 to 1286.

Thomas Rus is probably identical with that Thomas le Rous who was Mayor in 1251-2 and again in 1263-4.

Henry Langbord was Prepositor of the town in 1239-40.

William de Bellomonte was Prepositor in 1242-3.

Walter Mittelime Seneschal in 1267-8.

The other names do not appear in Latimer's Kalendar.

1240 to 1286.

To all who shall see or hear this writing WALTER FILOMENA, Vicar of the church of Saint Nicholas of Bristol, executor of the will of GILBERT LE CORMANGER his parishioner, health in the Lord.

Be it universally known that GILBERT LE CORMANGER my parishioner in his last will and in good memory, left to the support of a chaplain who shall celebrate mass daily to the Blessed Mary Mother of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, two pence (to be paid) yearly at the feast of Saint Thomas the Apostle before the Nativity of the Lord, to proceed from his ground which is between the land which belonged to WALTER DE PARIS on the west and the land which belonged to JOHN DE BERWIKE on the east, in the Street of Saint Nicholas in Bristol.

And in order that this gift and legacy of the aforesaid GILBERT may remain for ever firm and valid through my executorship, I have affixed my seal to this writing.

With these witnesses, GEVA wife of the said GILBERT, WILLIAM his son, ROGER DE BATONIA, WALTER DE OSSEBRIG and others.

Seal of green wax with the figure of a man standing before an altar, surrounded by the legend "In spiritu humilitatis et in animo."

Walter de Paris is given as Prepositor of Bristol for the year 1235-6 in an undated deed in the Braikenridge collection.

JOHN DE BERWIKE was Prepositor of the town with ROGER GOLDE in 1255-6.

None of the other names appear in Latimer's Kalendar.

1240 to 1286.

Let present and future men know that I PHILIP DE CADWELL have given and granted for my soul and for the souls of my wives CECILIE and JOYSE and of our children and of all the faithful departed, twelve pence of rent of assize from a certain ground which I bought from WILLIAM PLUMBARIUS which is in the parish of Saint Nicholas, namely in Baluinestrete between land on the east which belonged to ADAM LE HOPER and land which belonged to ROGER PLUMBARIUS on the west side, to be paid yearly for ever at two terms of the year, to wit at the feast of Saint Michael vi pence and at Easter vi pence by me or my heirs or by the aforesaid place, for the support of that chaplain who shall celebrate mass daily in the chapel of the BLESSED MARY the VIRGIN which is hard by the church of Saint Nicholas.

And that this my gift may stand firm for ever by my warrant and that of my heirs, to this writing have I affixed my seal.

With these witnesses, WALTER FILOMENA then Vicar of the church of Saint Nicholas, HENRY ALBON chaplain, WILLIAM DE BELLOMONTE, WALTER DE PARIS, WILLIAM DE PARIS, ROGER DE BERCHAM, WALTER MITTELIME, HENRY INNENE and others.

Seal of green wax much broken.

Roger de Bercham was Mayor in 1256-7.

Filomena, de Paris, Bellomonte and Mittelime we have met with before; of the remainder I can find no mention.

Endorsed, xiid. of the gift of Philip de Cadwell out of a certain tenement in Baluinstrete. Thomas Coferer lives in it.

1240 to 1286.

Let present and future people know that I, MARGERY formerly wife of RALPH AUBERCH, by the goodwill and advice of THOMAS LONG heir of the said RALPH my husband, have given and granted in pure, constant and perpetual alms for the soul of RALPH AUBERCH my spouse and for the souls of all the faithful departed, two shillings of rent of assize to be paid yearly for ever at the four terms of the year, namely at the feast of Saint Michael vi pence and at the birth of the Lord vi pence and at Easter vi pence and at the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist vi pence, for the support of a chaplain who shall celebrate mass daily

to the Blessed Mary the Virgin in the chapel which is hard by the church of Saint Nicholas of Bristol, to wit from a ground on which was a dwelling from the tenement of WILLIAM DE PARIS and is between the land which belonged to ADAM SELIMAN on the west side and certain land of the said WILLIAM DE PARIS on the east side in Baluinestrete in the Parish of Saint Nicholas in Bristol.

And that this my gift may stand for ever firm and unimpaired by my warrant and that of my heirs to this writing have I set my seal.

With these witnesses WALTER FILOMENA then Vicar of the church of Saint Nicholas, T. LONG, HENRY ALBON chaplain, HENRY LANGBORD, WILLIAM DE BELLOMONTE, HENRY INNENE and others.

Only a small fragment of the seal of green wax remains with the letters "MARGER"; the whole legend was without doubt "Sigillum Margerie Auberch."

Filomena, Langbord, De Paris and Bellomonte we have already met with. The names of the others are not to be found in Latimer's Kalendar.

1240 to 1286.

The next charter is written by the same scribe as the one who wrote the fifth. It is the first exactly dated by means of the name of the Mayor and his year of office.

Let present and future men know that I WILLIAM DE BELLOMONTE have given and granted for my soul and for that of MARGARET my wife and for those of our fathers and mothers and of our children and of all the faithful departed, my land with the building upon it which is in Baluinestrete between the land which belonged to WALTER MITTELIME on the west side and of JOHN LE GENTIL on the east side, for the support of that chaplain who shall celebrate mass to the Blessed Mary Mother of our Lord in the chapel of our same Lady hard by the church of Saint Nicholas daily.

And that this my gift, free confirmation and perpetual alms may hold good for ever by my warrant and that of my heirs, I have set my seal to this writing.

With these witnesses, HELYAS LONG then Mayor of Bristol, GILBERT DE MARLBERG then Prepositor, THOMAS LONG, WALTER MITTELIME, HENRY LANGBURD and others.

The seal is of dark wax with a nude figure holding a bow.

Elyas Long was Mayor in 1250-1 which gives us the date of this charter.

De Bellomonte, Langburd and Mittelime we have already dealt with, the remainder are not to be found in Latimer's 1250-1 Kalendar.

The ninth charter appears to have been written in a hurry, not only is the parchment unevenly cut but the writing is thick and careless and the lines crooked.

Let present and future people know that I WILLIAM DE PARIS son and heir of WILLIAM DE PARIS my father burgess of Bristol, have given and granted in pure and perpetual alms for my soul and for the souls of my father and mother and for the souls of all the faithful departed, two shillings rent of assize payable yearly for ever at the four quarters of the year, to wit at the feast of Saint Michael vi pence, at the birth of the Lord vi pence, at Easter vi pence, and at the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist vi pence. For the support of a chaplain who shall celebrate mass to the Blessed Mary the Virgin in the chapel which is hard by the church of Saint Nicholas in Bristol, to wit from a certain tenement in which WILLIAM BISSOP dwells, which said tenement is between the house of WILLIAM BIN on one side and the house of THOMAS DE BRUTONE on the other side in the parish of Saint Mary de la Redeclive near the stone church on the west side.

To have and to hold the said two shillings of rent of assize from me and my heirs to the said chaplain celebrating mass in the said chapel hard by the church of the Blessed Saint Nicholas.

And that this my gift may stand for ever firm and valid through my warrant and that of my heirs, I have affixed my seal to this writing.

With these witnesses, JOHN DE LIDIARD then Mayor of Bristol, SANEKMO RENEWARD, WILLIAM DE BLAKEFORD then Prepositors, RALPH DE SELEWODE, RICHARD CORDIARIUS, WILLIAM DE SELEWODE, MICHAEL the chaplain and many others.

The seal is missing.

John de Lidiard was Mayor in 1277-8 which fixes the date of this charter. The names of the remainder do not appear in Latimer's Kalendar.

1277-8.

To all the faithful in Christ who shall see or hear this charter JOHN DE WYTH and SIMON SPISAR PROCURATORS of the church of Saint Nicholas of Bristol and all the other parishioners of the same church, Eternal Salvation in the Lord.

Know every one of you that we by unanimous assent, freewill and counsel have given, granted and by this our present charter confirmed to the Mayor and Community of Bristol all that our land with its appurtenances which lies in the suburbs of Bristol upon Avon on the south side of the church of Saint Nicholas between the lands of ROBERT ROPER and JOHN CHEDDRE on the east part and a back of WALTER ROPER on the west part and extendeth itself from the street (vico Regio) before on the north side unto a stream of the water Avon behind on the south side, and contains in its length thirty four feet, between the land of the aforesaid ROBERT and JOHN on one side and a back of the aforesaid WALTER ROPER on the other.

To have and to hold all the aforesaid land with all its appurtenances to the aforesaid Mayor and Community and to their successors, from us and our successors, well, peaceably, freely and perfectly for ever.

The same Mayor which shall be for the time being and Community paying therefore yearly to us and our successors, at the fabric of our aforesaid church, four silver shillings rent in the whole, at the four terms of the year, namely at the feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist twelve pence, at the feast of Saint Michael twelve pence, at the feast of the Nativity of our Lord twelve pence and at Easter twelve pence, for all services and secular demands appertaining to the said land.

To have also this our donation, concession and our confirmation of this our present charter, the aforesaid Mayor and Community shall give us a certain sum of money which may be converted to the use of the chaplain of this church.

Wherefore we the said Procurators and Parishioners and our successors for the services aforesaid do warrant, acquit and for ever defend all the said land with all its appurtenances as aforesaid to the aforesaid Mayor and Community against all mortals, and that this our donation, concession and confirmation of the present charter and the payment of the aforesaid rent may for ever remain firm and stable, the common seal of the said church and the common seal of the said community have been alternately put to these bipartite charters made between us in form of handwriting (Chirographi).

Dated at Bristol on the feast of the Apostles Philip and James in the year of grace 1291, and in the nineteenth year of the reign of King Edward.

This translation was made at the end of the 18th century, possibly by William Barrett.

1291

In the eleventh charter we find a somewhat unusual trade mentioned, namely John de Bordeaux the Sheather which means that he was a maker of sheaths for swords and daggers.

Let present and future men know that I JOHN DE BORDEAUX LE SHETHERE burgess of Bristol, have given, granted and by this my present charter confirmed to ROBERT OTERY co-burgess of the aforesaid town, those six shillings of silver which WALTER LE REDE is accustomed to pay me yearly, out of those two shops with their appurtenances situated in a suburb of Bristol in the street of LEUNESMEDE between a tenement of the Abbot of Saint Augustine of Bristol on one side and a tenement of JOHN LE GULDARE senior on the other side, and stretches in length from the aforesaid street in front to the course of the water of Frome behind.

To have and to pay yearly the said six shillings of silver rent of assize from the aforesaid shops with all their appurtenances to the aforesaid ROBERT his heirs and assigns freely, quietly, truly, and in peaceful possession and hereditary right, without let or hindrance from me or my heirs or assigns forever.

For which gift, grant and confirmation indeed of this my present charter the aforesaid ROBERT OTERY has given into my hands a certain sum of money with which I acknowledge myself fully content.

Wherefore I the aforenamed JOHN my heirs and assigns, all the aforesaid rent of assize of six shillings annually to be paid from the aforesaid shops as before stated, will warrant, acquit and everywhere defend for ever against all people, to the aforesaid ROBERT his heirs and assigns.

That this gift, grant and the confirmation of this my present letter may stand legally firm as it ought to do, I have attached the impression of my seal to this my present charter.

With these witnesses THOMAS DE LA GRAVE then Mayor of Bristol, JOHN TYKE and ROGER BEAUFLUR then bailiffs of the same town, JOHN DE CHEDDRE and JOHN WALYS-

SCHOTE then Seneschals of the aforesaid town. JOHN DE WYGHT, DAVID DE WYGHT, ROBERT SNOW, PHILIP LE HASTERE, NICHOLAS DE HASELE, ROBERT LANERK, JOHN LE GULDERE senior, JOHN LE GULDERE junior, NICHOLAS DE CONWEYE, MATTHEW CISSORE, RICHARD DE ROMENEYE the clerk and others.

Seal dark wax much broken.

Endorsed LEWENSMEDE.

Thomas de la Grave was Mayor in 1302-3 which gives us the date of this charter.

John Walysschote Bailiff in 1314-5.

Robert de Otery four times Seneschal.

1302-3.

In number twelve we find an example of the care taken by merchants of old to distinguish themselves from others bearing the same surname. Here we have three persons of the name of Le Wythe, the first two evidently belonged to the same family and are careful to add of their trade to their names, *i.e.* John le Wythe Iremonger and Richard le Wythe Iremonger. Lower down amongst the witnesses we get Richard le Wythe Piscator which I have translated fisherman though it may merely mean fishmonger.

Let present and future men know that I JOHN LE WYTHE IREMONGER burgess of Bristol have given, granted and by this my present charter confirmed to RICHARD LE WYTHE IREMONGER co-burgess of the same town for his service all that messuage with its appurtenances which is situated in a suburb of the aforesaid town in Baluenestrete between a tenement of THOMAS DE BERWYKE on one side and a tenement of JOHN DE SAINT ALBANS which formerly belonged to EVORARDUS LE FRAUNCEYS on the other side, and reaches from the aforesaid street in front up to the land of the aforesaid JOHN DE SAINT ALBANS behind.

To have and to hold all the aforesaid messuage with all its appurtenances before and behind to the aforesaid RICHARD LE WYTHE his heirs and assigns from the capital lords of the fee, freely, quietly in peaceable possession of hereditary right for ever. The said RICHARD his heirs and assigns paying thence annually to the capital lords of that fee all due and accustomed services for all other services and secular demands.

In witness whereof I have signed this my present charter with the impression of my seal.

With these witnesses WILLIAM RANDALF then Mayor of Bristol, JOHN WATCHET and JOHN METHELAN then Bailiffs of the same town- THOMAS DE BERWYK, ROBERT DE HOLHURST, JOHN DE SAINT ALBANS, ROGER DE LYCHEFELDE, RICHARD LE WYTHE fisherman, WILLIAM SYLEMYN clerk and others.

The seal is of dark wax with a large I in the centre.

William Randalph was Mayor in 1309-10 which gives us the date of this charter.

Thomas de Berwyke Seneschal in 1306-7.

Robert de Holhurst Bailiff in 1314-15.

The names of the others do not appear.

1309-10.

Let present and future men know that I ROBERT MONJOYE son and heir of RALPH MONJOYE formerly burgess of Bristol have given, granted and by this my present charter confirmed to ROBERT SNOW co-burgess of the aforesaid town all that my tenement both with solar and cellars below the same solar, which is situated in the town of Bristol in the street of Saint Nicholas between a tenement formerly of JOHN TYKE on one side and a tenement formerly of RALPH MONJOYE on the other and reaches from the aforesaid street in front up to a tenement of PHILIP DE SWEYNCESTER behind.

To have and to hold the aforesaid tenement with its appurtenances to the aforesaid ROBERT SNOW and his heirs and assigns from the capital lords of that fee, freely, quietly, truly and in peaceful possession by hereditary right for ever.

Paying thence annually to the capital lords aforesaid the services accustomed and due at the usual terms of the year by four portions for all services and secular demands to the aforesaid tenement in any manner belonging.

For which gift and concession and for the confirmation of this my present charter, the aforesaid ROBERT SNOW has paid a certain sum of money into my hands, with which I acknowledge myself well pleased and fully content.

And I the aforesaid ROBERT MONJOYE and my heirs and assigns will warrant, acquit and defend for ever the aforesaid tenement with its appurtenances to the aforesaid ROBERT SNOW and his heirs against all people.

In witness whereof I have sealed this present charter with the impression of my seal.

With these witnesses RICHARD TYLLEY then Mayor of Bristol, RICHARD LE WHYTE and RICHARD DE PANES then Bailiffs of the same town, ROBERT OTERY, DAVIT DE WYGHT, ROGER BEAUFLUR, GERNAS DE KARY, PHILIP DE SWEYNCESTER, RICHARD DE CALDECOTE, RALPH DE ABENDON, RICHARD the clerk and others.

The seal is missing.

Richard Tylley was Mayor in 1318-19 which gives us the date of this charter, Ralph Monjoye Mayor in 1244-45.

Robert Otery several times Seneschal of Bristol. Roger Beauflur Seneschal with John Tyke in 1302-3.

The names of the remainder do not appear.

1318-9.

The fourteenth charter carries on the history of the house which was conveyed in the twelfth charter by John le Wythe Iremonger to Richard le Wythe Iremonger which we now see passes into the possession of the church of Saint Nicholas.

Let present and future men know that I RICHARD LE WYTHE LE IREMONGER burgess of Bristol, have given, granted and by this my present charter confirmed to SIR WALTER DE KELMESCOTE Vicar of the church of Saint Nicholas of the said town all that messuage with its appurtenances which is situated in a suburb of the town beforesaid in BALUENISTRETE between a tenement formerly of THOMAS DE BEREWIK on one side and a tenement formerly of JOHN DE SAINT ALBANS which aforetime belonged to EVORARDUS LE FRAUNCEYS on the other side and stretches from the aforesaid street in front up to the land of the aforesaid JOHN DE SAINT ALBANS behind.

To have and to hold all the aforesaid messuage with all its appurtenances before and behind to him the aforesaid SIR WALTER his heirs and assigns from the capital lords of that fee, freely, quietly in hereditary right for ever, the same WALTER paying thence annually to the capital lords of that fee all due and accustomed services for all other services and secular demands.

For which gift indeed and for the confirmation of this my charter the aforesaid SIR WALTER has paid me a certain sum of money with which I acknowledge myself fully content.

And I the said RICHARD IREMONGER my heirs and assigns will warrant and defend for ever the said tenement with all its appurtenances to the said SIR WALTER KELMESCOTE his heirs and assigns against all mortals.

In witness whereof I have sealed this my present charter with the impression of my seal.

With these witnesses, RICHARD TYLLEY then Mayor of Bristol, GILBERT POKEREL, CLEMENT TORTLE, ROBERT HORHURST, RICHARD LE WYTHE fisherman, STEPHEN LE SPICER, JOHN LE HUNTE, JOHN LE SULLER and others.

The seal is of dark wax and much broken.

Richard de Tylley was Mayor of Bristol for the second time with Gilbert Pokerel and Clement Tortle as his Bailiffs in 1321-22 which gives us the date of this charter, although the designation bailiff does not appear I do not think that the position of the two names following that of the Mayor can be accidental.

Walter de Kelmescote was Vicar of Saint Nicholas from 1313 to 1341, the prefix Sir was usual before the name of a priest in those days.

Evarard Le Fraunceys and Stephen Le Spicer were Bailiffs together in 1323-4 and were both subsequently several times Mayors of Bristol.

Roger Tortle was several times Mayor.

1321-22.

The fifteenth charter is entirely different from the rest. In the first place it is a royal document sealed with the great seal of Edward the 3rd. In the second place it does not convey money or land from one person to another, but grants the royal licence to an individual to alienate certain property from everyday use and vest it for ever in the hands of a body of men or corporation.

It is called " A licence in mortmain," and had always to be obtained from the king on payment of a pretty heavy fee whenever property was made over to the church or any

other body corporate. Since the body corporate could never die but must perforce go on forever unless dissolved by law, all property within its grasp was for ever exempt from paying taxation on passing into other hands at the owner's death. Therefore the king and government took toll of it at their only opportunity namely, on its first passing from private into corporate ownership.

EDWARD by the Grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, to all to whom these present letters shall come Greeting.

Altho' by the Common Counsel of our Kingdom of England it is established that it should not be lawful for Religious Persons or others to enter upon any fee so that it passes into a dead hand (manum mortuam) without our leave, and the leave of the Capital Lord from whom the thing is immediately holden. Yet for twenty pounds which RICHARD HUREL of Bristol spicer hath paid to us, We grant and give leave for ourselves and our heirs as much as in us is, to the said RICHARD that he should hold the four messuages and the four shops with their appurtenances in Bristol whereof the four messuages and three of the shops from us in Capite by the service called Longabile paying to us therefor yearly at the feast of Saint Michael twelve pence for all services, and the remaining fourth shop from the Mayor and community of the town of Bristol for the service of ten shillings per annum, holden as by the inquest made thereon at our command by our beloved WILLIAM AUNCELL our Escheator in the County of Gloucester and accompt thereof returned into our Chancery, may give and assign to a chaplain to perform divine service every day for the healthy state of the said RICHARD and CECILY his wife while they shall live, and for their souls when they shall pass hence, and for the souls of their father and mother and of AGNES SPICER, and of their ancestors, and of all the faithful departed. To be celebrated in the church of Saint Nicholas, Bristol at the altar of Saint Mary in the same church, to be had and holden by the same chaplain and his successors chaplains performing divine service every day at the aforesaid altar for the state and souls aforesaid to be celebrated for ever. And we likewise give special licence by the tenor of these presents to the said chaplain that he may receive and take the messuages and shops aforesaid with the appurtenances from the said RICHARD for himself and his successors chaplains performing divine service every day in the same chapel

at the altar aforesaid for the state and souls aforesaid to be celebrated for ever as is aforesaid notwithstanding the statute aforesaid. We being unwilling that the aforesaid RICHARD or his heirs, or the aforesaid chaplain or his successors should meet with any molestation or vexation by reason of the statute aforesaid, or because of the four messuages and three shops holden of us as is said by our heirs, justices, escheators, sheriffs or other our bailiffs or ministers whatsoever for the same. Saving to us and our heirs however and to the other capital lords of the fees their services thereof due and accustomed. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness myself at Westminster the sixteenth day of May in the forty fourth year of our reign of England and in the thirty first year of our reign of France.

1371.

The sixteenth and last charter is a conveyance from the Mayor and Commonalty of Bristol to Richard Spicer of a small piece of ground on which to erect a weighing machine.

To all to whom this present writing shall come, WALTER DERBY Mayor of the town of Bristol and the Commonalty of the same town, health in the Lord.

Be it known that we with unanimous consent, freewill and counsel have granted and given and by this our present writing confirmed to our beloved co-burgess RICHARD SPICER one small piece of ground containing four perches to make thereon a scale for weighing, (which ground) reaches from the tenement of RICHARD SPICER situated upon the Back of Avon on the east side to have and to hold the aforesaid vacant space of ground to the aforesaid RICHARD SPICER his heirs and assigns, truly and peaceably for ever, paying thence annually to us or to our successors six silver pence at the four usual and accustomed terms of the year by equal portions for all services and secular demands.

And if the aforesaid annual rent or any part of it shall be behind hand for one quarter of the year after that on which it ought to have been paid, then indeed shall it be lawful for us or our successors to enter into the said building to the said weighing place annexed and distrain upon it etc. until the arrerage shall be fully satisfied and discharged etc.

Wherefor we the aforesaid Mayor and Commonalty and our successors will warrant and defend in the aforesaid form, the

aforesaid small piece of land to the aforesaid RICHARD SPICER his heirs and assigns against all men.

In witness whereof our common seal is appended to one part of this Indenture which remains in the possession of the said RICHARD and the aforesaid RICHARD has affixed his seal to the other part which remains in our possession.

Given in the Schald of Bristol on the third day of September in the fourth year of the reign of King RICHARD second after the conquest.

Walter Derby was five times Mayor of Bristol.

Richard Spicer Mayor in 1372-73.

The seal is of red wax much broken, the seal of the town of Bristol.

1380

In these deeds the chapel of the Blessed Mary the Virgin is always said to be hard by the church of Saint Nicholas, the latin word used is " juxta " which means close to and not inside, so we must picture the little chapel as standing close to and not within the church. The following extract from the second volume of "Bristol Past and Present" bears this out. In light of which, the known chapel of the Virgin standing on Bristol Bridge can hardly be the one referred to in these deeds :—

" About the year 1200 one Richard Wombstrong, for the benefit of the souls of his parents, sold to the parishioners of Saint Nicholas, for thirty marks of silver, his house near the church of Saint Nicholas, for making a chapel to the Blessed Virgin Mary."

I fear that all knowledge as to the site it occupied has been lost. The chaplains whose names are mentioned now and then were no doubt the priests in charge of the chapel. One is inclined to wonder whether they acted as curates to the Vicar of their large neighbour when their daily task of singing or reciting masses was accomplished.

Of the streets mentioned only two present any difficulty *i.e.* Scadespulle strete and that strange jumble of letters meant for Worship street. The former was near Saint Stephen's church and the latter upon part of the ground

now occupied by Bridge Street. All the others (though oddly spelt) can be recognised by their modern equivalents.

The term "Rent of Assize," has been so frequently repeated that I have looked up its meaning in a law dictionary for the information of those of our members who are unversed in legal phraseology, *i.e.* "Rents of Assize are the certain established rents of the freeholders and ancient copyholders of a manor, which cannot be departed from or varied, when these payments were reserved in white money or silver, they were called white rents or Blanch-farm." They were probably the safest investments to be obtained in those days for trust money.

We gather from these charters that our Bristol forefathers in the trading class were strong supporters of their church, the Catholic church in England which then yielded obedience and pence to the occupant of the chair of Saint Peter at Rome. Even if their pious bequests partook somewhat of the nature of fire escapes, we must give them credit for filial piety and humanitarian motives since they bracketted the souls of their parents and ancestors with their own to share equally the benefits to be gained by their anti-purgatorial payments.

In bringing my paper to a close I must again express my obligation to the Vicar and Churchwardens of Saint Nicholas, for having permitted me to draw these fascinating relics of ancient Bristol from the dust of ages in which they have been so long enshrouded.

List of names contained in the earliest charters of Saint Nicholas Church, Bristol.

Puer, John, chaplain of St. Nicholas
Rufus, Walter
Warwain, John
Warwain, Belefuer, widow of above
Pollard, William
Le Ferun, Jordan
Piper, Henry, chaplain
Gerno, Giles

Gerno, William
Aurifabris, John
Aurifabris, Geoffrey
Aurifabris, Ralph
De Ponte, Jordan
De Ponte, Walter
De Ponte, Hugh

2nd Charter undated

Scrinarius, Richard
Scrinarius, Juliana, wife of the above
Tannatoris, Walter
De Berkham, Thomas
De Melins, Hugh
De Kyngeswode, William
De Lockwith, Henry
De Caelvstun, Hugh
Tannator, Richard
Warrener, William

3rd Charter undated

Fardein, James
Fardein, Thomas, son of the above
Brun, Odo
Fernator, Jordan
Cornator, Ralph
Pollart, Cecilie
La Warrer, John
Le Panage, Ralph
Le Mercer, William
Le Wornere, John
Blakeman, Henry
Brun, Hugh
Rop, Walter
John the clerk
De Cadwel, Philip
Le Tavnur, Ralph

4th Charter between 1240 and 1286.

Duning, William
Duning, Agnes, wife of the above
Seliman, Adam
Rus, Thomas
Filomena, Walter, Vicar of St. Nicholas
Albon, Henry, chaplain
Long, Thomas

Langbord, Henry
De Bellomonte, William
Mittelime, Walter
Skynnarius, William

5th Charter, 1240 to 1286
Filomena, Walter, Vicar of St. Nicholas
Le Cormanger, Gilbert
Le Cormanger, Geva
Le Cormanger, William, son of the above
De Paris, Walter
De Berwike, John
De Batonia, Roger
De Ossebrig, Walter

6th Charter 1240 to 1286
De Cadwell, Philip
De Cadwell, Cecilie and Joyse, wives of the above
Plumbarius, William
Plumbarius, Roger
Filomena, Walter, Vicar of St. Nicholas
Albon, Henry, chaplain
Mittelime, Walter
Innene, Henry
Le Hoper, Adam
De Bellomonte, William
De Bercham, Roger
De Paris, Walter

7th Charter 1240 to 1286
Auberch, Margery
Auberch, Ralph, husband of the above
Long, Thomas, heir of the above Ralph Auberch
De Paris, William
Seliman, Adam
Filomena, Walter, Vicar of St. Nicholas
Albon, Henry, chaplain
Langbord, Henry
De Bellomonte, William
Innene, Henry

8th Charter 1250-3
De Bellomonte, William
De Bellomonte, Margaret wife of the above
Mittelime, Walter
Le Gentil, John
Long, Elyas then Mayor of Bristol 1250-1

De Marlberg, Gilbert
Langburd, Henry
9th Charter 1277-78
De Paris, William
De Paris, William, father of the above
Bissop, William
Bin, William
De Brutone, Thomas
De Lidiard, John, then Mayor of Bristol 1277-78
Reneward, Sanekmo
De Blakeford, William
De Selewode, Ralph
Cordiarius, Richard
De Selewode, William
Michael the chaplain
10th Charter 1291
De Wyth, John
Spisar, Simon
Roper, Robert
Roper, Walter
Cheddre, John
11th Charter 1302-3
De Bordeaux le Shethere, John
Otery, Robert
Le Rede, Walter
Le Guldere, John senior
De La Grave, Thomas, then Mayor of Bristol 1302-3
Tyke, John
Beauflur, Roger
De Cheddre, John
De Wyght, John
De Wyght, David
Snow, Robert
Le Hastere, Philip
De Hasele, Nicholas
Lanerk, Roger
Le Guldere, John junior
De Conweye, Nicholas
De Romeneye, Richard
12th Charter 1309-10
Le Wythe, John, Iremonger
Le Wythe, Richard, Iremonger
De Berwyke, Thomas

De St. Albans, John
Le Fraunceys, Everard
Randalf, William, then Mayor of Bristol 1309-10
Watchet, John
Methelan, John
De Holhurst, Robert
De Lychfelde, Roger
Le Wythe, Richard, piscator
Sylemyn, William, the clerk

13th Charter, 1318-19
Monjoye, Robert
Monjoye, Ralph, son and heir of the above
Snow, Robert
Tyke, John
De Sweyncester, Philip
Tylley, Richard, then Mayor of Bristol 1381-19
Le Whyte, Richard
De Panes, Richard
Otery, Robert
De Wyght, Davit
Beauflur, Roger
De Kery, Gernas
De Caldecote, Richard
De Abendon, Ralph
Richard the clerk

14th Charter, 1321-2
Le Wythe le Iremonger, Richard
De Kelmescote, Sir Walter, Vicar of St. Nicholas 1313-1341
De Berewik, Thomas
De St. Albans, John
Le Fraunceys, Evorardus
Tylley, Richard, then Mayor of Bristol 1321-2
Pokerel, Gilbert
Tortle, Clement
Horhurst, Robert
Le Wythe, Richard, piscator
Le Spicer, Stephen
Le Hunte, John
Le Suller, John

15th Charter 1371
Edward the 3rd
Hurel, Richard
Auncell, William, escheator in the county of Gloucester

Hurel, Cecily, wife of Richard
Spicer, Agnes
16th Charter 1380
Derby, Walter, then Mayor of Bristol 1380
Spicer, Richard

CERTAINE 3

Sermons preached of late at Ciceter, in the countie of *Glocester, vpon a portion of the first* Chapter of the Epistle of Iames: wherein *the two seuerall states, of the riche and poore man* are compared and examined, the differences in quality, and duety betwixt them shewed, both directed to such Christian parts and offices, as the sufficiencie of the one may, and ought to performe, and the wants of the other do necessarily require.

Penned at the earnest requests of diuers *well affected Inhabitantes of the place: and now published as well for the vse of others, as for the further profit of that particular congregation.*

By *Philip Iones*, Preacher of the word of God in the same Towne.

Allowed by authoritie.

Imprinted at London by T. D. for *Thomas Butter* 1588.

From the copy in Cambridge University Library.

PHILIP JONES, OF CIRENCESTER.

By Roland Austin.

(With Plate).

AMONG the rarest of Gloucestershire books is a volume of sermons which has given, and to some extent still gives, speculation as to the exact identity of the writer, though more knowledge has recently come to light through the researches of Mr. F. S. Hockaday, who most kindly followed up a clue presented by certain passages in the "Epistle Dedicatorie" of the work referred to below.

The book was the subject of a note by the late Rev. B. H. Blacker in *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, but it escaped record in the *Manual of Gloucestershire Literature*[1] where, in spite of not being exactly topographical, it would, had a copy been then known, surely have found a place as the earliest instance of the County of Gloucester being mentioned on a title page, this being eighteen years before the publication of *Fearefvl Newes*, an account of a storm at Olveston, printed in 1606 (*Manual*, ii, 258). In addition to its bibliographical interest the volume indicates a time of religious disturbance in the town where the sermons were preached and also tells us of proceedings which involved controversy with the bishop of Gloucester, John Bullingham.

Up to the present time I know of only two copies. The one now described was acquired for the Gloucester Public Library in 1908, and the other, as I learn from Mr. St. Clair Baddeley, is in Cambridge University Library. There is not a copy in the British Museum, the Bodleian, or even in the rich collection of Gloucestershire books owned by Captain A. W. Clifford. Inquiry in

[1] By Sir Francis Hyett and Canon W. Bazeley, 1895-7. 3 v.

Notes and Queries (Ser. 6, v, 25), in *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries* (ii, 134), and more recently again in the first (Ser. 11, ix, 45-6), failed to elicit information as to the identity of the author. Mr. Blacker's copy was from the library of the late Canon Lysons but whether it is the one now at Gloucester I cannot say. The title is as follows:

CERTAINE

Sermons preached of / late at Ciceter, in the countie of / *Glocester, upon a portion of the first* / Chapter of the Epistle of Iames: wherein / *the two seueral states, of the riche and poore man* / are compared and examined, the differen- / ces in quality, and duety betwixt them / shewed, both directed to such Chri- / stian parts and offices, as the suffi- / ciencie of the one may, and / ought to performe, and the / wants of the other do ne- / cessarily require./

Penned at the earnest requests of diuers / *well affected Inhabitantes of the place: and / now published as well for the use of others, / as for the further profit of that parti- / cular congregation.*

By *Philip Iones*, Preacher of the word / of God in the same Towne. / *Allowed by authoritie.*

Imprinted at London by T. D. for
Thomas Butter, 1588.

The volume is octavo in size, without pagination, the signatures being ¶ to H[6]. In the Gloucester copy the first leaf[1] (before the title) of the first sheet is missing. The Epistle Dedicatorie, dated from London " May the 17, 1588 " is addressed as follows:

To the right Reuerend Father in God, *Iohn*,[2] nowe Bishoppe of *Glocester, and Commendatarie of Bristow, Philip Iones* wisheth the increase of all good graces fit for

[1] Mr. F. J. Jenkinson, Librarian of Cambridge University Library tells me that in the copy there the first leaf is blank except for a leaf ornament.

[2] John Bullingham.

the discharge, and answering of so great a calling in this life and in the next, the fruition of those ioyes, which are euerlasting in *Christ Iesus.*

There are three sermons occupying 122 pages (A—H[5]). On the recto of the last leaf (H[6]) in the book is a table of errata, described as:—

The errors and misprinting of wordes
escaped in the presse, are here amended,
which otherwise might marre the sense,
and hinder the Reader.

followed by the colophon:—

Imprinted at London
at the three Cranes in the Vintree
by Thomas Dawson for Thomas
Butter. 1588.

Publication was duly entered in the Register of the Stationers Company:[1]

3 Maii [1588].

Thomas Butter. Alowed vnto him for his copies. *A Sermon preached of late at Ciceter in the county of Glocester, wherein the twoo Different states of the poore and Riche man are compared together.* Master Crowleys hand is to yt Testyfying it to be alowable to ye print. vi[d].

The author of these Sermons is given by more than one bibliographer as the Philip Jones who translated in 1589 *Certaine briefe, and speciall Instructions for Gentlemen, merchants, students, souldiers, marriners, &c. Employed in seruices abrode, or anie way occasioned to conuerse in the kingdomes, and gouernementes of forren Princes,* by Albertus Meierus. In the British Museum Catalogue the translator is described as "Rev., of Cirencester" though

[1] Arber's Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640. II, 489.

correspondence (in 1911) with the late Mr. G. K. Fortescue, formerly Keeper of Printed Books, elicited the opinion that there was no evidence for this and that it seemed to be merely the guess of an ingenious cataloguer. Possibly the bibliographical works of Watts[1] and Lowndes[2] were consulted, for both include the Sermons and the *Instructions* under the same name. The Sermons are mentioned by Wood (*Fasti*), who records three graduates of the name of Philip Jones but he was unable to assign the authorship to any one of them. It will be seen later that the preacher of the Sermons never graduated.

The " Epistle Dedicatorie " reveals difficulties with the bishop of Gloucester, John Bullingham (1581-98), and also that Philip Jones had endeavoured to secure the support of the archbishop of Canterbury and other commissioners of the High Court. After giving his reasons for printing the sermons he proceeds

> Wherunto besides sundrie effectuall motives inducing me, (which for some respects I here suppresse) one is of good consequece, meete in this place to bee introduced, and specified: and that is, an earnest desire wherewith I have for a season travailed, to have you thorowly acquaynted with the state, and trueth of certaine actions of mine, which by reason of the practises of suche adversaries, as *Iuda* and *Benjamin* sometimes had, in a matter not muche different in nature though somewhat in circumstance, are so farre from beeing entertayned with lawfull favour, as that they are prosecuted with extreeme displeasure under you, yea and by you, (as of late in your heate and passions openly appeared) to the great incouragement of the common enemie, and no little discomfort of manie that professe sincerely and discreetely.
>
> . . . . . .

[1] *Bibliotheca Britannica.*

[2] Ed. 1857-64. " The Sermons at Ciceter " is not given in the first edition (1834).

Whereunto when I adde in my private consideration, the immoderate and fierce proceedings of your self, your courts, and officers, by interrupting the use of my ministery, and stretching the armes of authoritie to the uttermost (I may not say beyond law, reason, and christian conscience) to the increase of my disquietinges, and the full measure of my molestations, I see small cause in common sense, of taking any heart or spirite to fulfill my course, and to growe on in that spirituall worke, whereof a beginning of great hope is already made, and a foundation layd amongst them, who at this present do inioy the benefite of my attendance.

. . . . . .

Which thing hath made me of this opinion, that either you have egregiously forgotten (my reverẽce to your place & person premised) or that you do wittingly neglect the advise, or rather charge of the most reverend, & honorable, the Archbishoppe of this province, (whõ for dutie & honors sake, in respect of many his speciall favors towards my selfe I here reẽmber) sent & directed to you by letter, to doe nothing, that might tẽd to my discourage or troble . . .

The cause for the complaints of the "fierce proceedings," and the interruption of his ministry by the bishop is shown in the act books of the Gloucester Consistory Court, which are now quoted by the kindness of Mr. F. S. Hockaday. There are other entries concerning Philip Jones which tell us something of his career before his connexion with Cirencester.

The earliest entry found is on the 25th September, 1581, when he was presented to the rectory of Welford-on-Avon by the patron, Lewis Grevell. He was instituted on 19th October, 1581. His sureties for first fruits (23rd November, 1582) were Thomas Watkys, of Welford, and Edward Maxfeld, of Weston-on-Avon, gentlemen.

In 1584 (c. April-May) he was found to be "of suspected life; not a graduate, nor a preacher. Holds another benefice. Did not appear, nor will." The statement that he was not a graduate disposes of any connexion being established with those of the same name and time mentioned by Wood (*Fasti*, i, 221), or in Foster's *Alumni*. On the 5th November, 1585, Philip Jones was instituted to the vicarage of Weston-on-Avon, also on the presentation (24th August, 1585) of Lewis Grevell.

Within a short time of his institution to these benefices Jones was preaching at Cirencester, for the next entries in the act book relate to his irregularities in that town. Described as "Curate of Cirencester" he appears in the consistory court on 4th October, 1586, before William Blackleech, chancellor of the diocese.

Philip Jones, clk., curate of Cirencester.
Gloucester Consistory Court.

Oct. 4, 1586. Before Mr. Wm. Blackleech, LL.B., chancellor, in his house.

Detection—He came into this diocese without letters testimonial from the place of his ordination or of 2 justices of the place whence he came and served the cure and preached without licence of the bishop or the judge [*i.e* the chancellor of the diocese].

Jones appeared and confessed a portion of the detection and that he preached at Cirencester with the bishop's permission (*venia*) but that he has not a licence under the seal of either the bishop or of the judge; wherefore he was monished by his lordship to appear before him in the same place, this day, at 1 p.m. to answer certain articles. Which time having come he did not appear and was suspended from his office.[1]

It will be noticed that neither "the place of his ordination" nor "the place whence he came" is stated.

[1] G. D. R. vol. 59. This and other entries are renderings from the Latin.

Search has so far failed to obtain any information on these points. There is certainly no record of the presentation of Jones to Cirencester. In his history of Cirencester Church, the Rev. E. A. Fuller mentions (p. 94) that "Mr. Jones is styled the Preacher in a will of 1587." This will is entered (f. 2) in the Vestry Book.

Throughout the year 1587, there are further proceedings. On 11 January, 1586/7 Jones is charged with serving the cure at Cirencester "without licence." The apparitor (Robert Hawkins) swore that he cited Jones personally at the feast of Epiphany at Cirencester, but he did not appear. For his contumacy he was excommunicated in writing. On the 31st March he came before the bishop in the consistory court and evidently had considered his position. After the inspection of letters from the archbishop of Canterbury and others of the Court of High Commission the bishop gave him absolution on his having first subscribed to the articles of religion and sworn to obey the laws. This recognition of ecclesiastical authority was but temporary for within three months Jones is cited once more before the bishop and the chancellor. It is alleged that

> He dothe not followe the book of comen prayer in divers poyntes, he doth not reade the 11th and 12th verses of the lateny, he refused to Baptize two children.

There is no record of act, but on 8th November, 1587, there is a marginal note which seems to show that the case was in the Commissioners' Court. In this same year Jones was presented for non-payment of subsidies for Welford-on-Avon and Weston-on-Avon, and having been cited by *viis et modis* at his house he was, on 8th November, suspended at both places, though from the entry of the presentation on 10th March, 1592, of Edward Vernon (instituted 28th March) to the rectory of Welford, and on 25th June, 1592, of Thomas Heath (instituted 21st July)

to the vicarage of Weston-on-Avon, in each case described as vacant by the "death of the last incumbent,"[1] it is evident that both livings were held by Philip Jones until the end of his life.

In the last entry found he is described as "late curate of Cirencester." The act book records:—

> Oct. 11, 1587. In Gloucester consistory court. Philip Jones, clk., late curate of Cirencester. He used very sclanderous and seditious wordes against the curate there and others. He appeared. Also appeared Henry Bushoppe, clk., now curate there, Adam Spill, Robert Tayler, and Edward Herberte of the same, who had been cited to appear and were sworn to depose what they knew in the matter of articles concerning the health of the soul and reformation of the excesses of Philip Jones and they were monished to undergo examination after the rising of the court.

According to the register of Welford-on-Avon "Phillip Jones, parson of Welford," was buried the 8th of February, 1592.[2] He died intestate, administration of his goods being granted 9th February, 1592 to his relict, Ann Jones. He is there described as "clericus" of the rectory of Welford. Sureties in £100 were given by John Jones and John Parker.

The identity claimed for the writer of the sermons preached at Cirencester as the translator of *Brief Instructions*, referred to in the earlier part of this paper, cannot be entirely dismissed and yet is difficult to establish. Both books are dated from London within a year of each other and there is nothing in the second work which might not quite well have been produced by a country parson who would have been acquainted with Latin.

[1] In an "Abstract of Original Presentations in the Diocese of Gloucester" among the Gloucester Diocesan Records, the livings of Welford and Weston are described as void in 1592 "By Philip Jones's death."

[2] Rev. A. J. Davis, rector of Welford-on-Avon, kindly sent me a copy of the entry.

There is, however, yet another Philip Jones to whom the translation might be attributed. In the account of William Towerson's third voyage to Guinea, printed in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, we find it stated :

> 28 August [1577]. This day Philip Jones, the Master of the Christopher came aboord us.[1]

This Philip Jones was the writer of *A true report of a Worthy Fight . . . at Pantalarea*, 1586,[2] and in the days when the great Elizabethan seamen knew how to wield the pen, as they also knew how to sail the ocean, it is not so improbable that such a mariner would translate the *Instructions*. It is also relevant to note that the translation is dedicated to Sir Francis Drake, and Jones there refers to " my very good and learned friend M. Richard Hakluit," while in a letter from John Newbery to Hakluyt dated 28th May, 1582, the writer says " I pray you make my commendations to . . . Master Philip Jones."[3]

[1] Hakluyt, II i, 51 (ed. Maclehose, vi, 250).
[2] *Ib.* II, i, 285 and vi, 46.
[3] *Ib.* II, i, 462 and v, 453.

EARLY BRISTOL MEDICAL INSTITUTIONS, THE MEDIÆVAL HOSPITALS, AND BARBER SURGEONS.

By George Parker, M.A., M.D.

(With Two Plates).

THE records bearing on early medical matters in Bristol are extremely scanty and such facts as we get are incomprehensible unless compared with what existed elsewhere. A Bristol annalist has however before him a special warning against imaginary pictures in Chatterton's most brilliant but fictitious and absurd account of the library and medical work in St. Bartholomew's Hospital, which he palmed off on his contemporaries in spite of its ludicrous mistakes.

Were there any medical institutions in mediæval Bristol? Now we find Garrison[1] saying that the chief glory of mediæval medicine lay undoubtedly in the organization of hospitals and nursing. At the end of the twelfth century a sudden enthusiasm spread over Europe and even over Moslem lands for building and endowing hospitals and refuges for the sick and infirm. For two centuries this fashion continued to be the inspiration and delight of men of all classes, leading to increased skill in building and great endowments. The little town of Bristol, like others, was filled with charitable institutions, and we have to ask of what kind they were. Quite early in the movement Pope Innocent III, struck by the warmth of public feeling, made a special effort in 1198 to start the building of hospitals of the Holy Spirit all over Europe. This was to be and remained a lay effort, the hospitals were

[1] Fielding H. Garrison. *History of Medicine.*

managed by laymen and often by the municipalities. Four hundred such hospitals were formed in France; Prof. Virchow found that 155 had been built in Germany. Only a year or two ago we read of a terrible fire in the hospital of S. Spirito in Sassia, one of the original houses remaining in Rome. There were hospitals of the Holy Spirit in England at Taunton, Hereford, Warwick, Canterbury, &c., but the records are scanty. To raise funds and organize their building, nursing and maintenance, Innocent took over a lay fraternity of the Holy Spirit, founded by Guy of Montpellier, and gave it great privileges and exemptions. This order spread a network of collectors every where, had an enormous revenue, and founded lodges or commanderies in the towns[1]. Now this fraternity had a branch in Redcliffe, Bristol, and is found to be connected with and assisting a hospital there. The meaning of this Redcliffe fraternity and the objects of the order do not seem to have been noticed by any Bristol writers, though the few facts given are clear and the order one of the most successful in Europe. I shall speak of this later on.

Though this movement had little to do with the religious orders, the *Monasteries* had always contained excellent infirmaries for their own members and sometimes for the sick poor, equipped with first rate appliances for heating, drainage and hot and cold water. They often consisted of a hall with cubicles along the sides, a chapel at one end, and perhaps small private wards. Such departments would be found in all the great monasteries of Bristol—in St. Augustine's, St. James, the Carmelite House and the Friaries—but they have been described elsewhere.

Hospitia. Miss Clay found that there were 750 of these in England.[2] (1). Many of them were merely alms-

[1] Virchow. Der Hospitaliter Ordern. Brune. Histoire de L'ordre Hospitalier. De Smidt. L'ordre Hospitalier.

[2] R. M. Clay. *Mediæval Hospitals of England.*

houses or guest hostels. (2). Some 200 were leper houses during the epidemic from 1100 to 1350, and were converted to other uses when it died down. (3). Others like St. Bartholomew's in London were devoted to the sick only until they had recovered from their illness. (4). Many were of the type of a poor law infirmary, both treating the acute cases and nursing the infirm and aged. The numbers would be much greater if we included the colleges and the commanderies of the knights. Of this latter kind there was perhaps a house in the Temple district. In Somerset, at Buckland Brewer, the commandery seems to have been a training school for nurses. Gasquet[1] reckons 16 hospitals in Bristol, but as the annals are scanty and the buildings destroyed or rearranged, it is hard to say how many were hospitals in a medical sense. Two were definite leper houses, St. Lawrence, outside the Lawford Gate, for men, founded by King John when Earl of Morton, and St. Mary Magdalen outside Redcliffe for women. Both were converted to other uses later on. I am of opinion that several others had a leper annexe or hut in the garden, as St. Bartholomew's, London, had. This will explain the records which speak of a house in one place as a leper asylum and in another as a general hospital.

We must rule out, too, the almshouses pure and simple, which were not primarily for nursing the sick. There were about 10 of these in Gasquet's list; Sampson reckoned thirty-five in all, down to modern times.

Five of the hospitals were more or less devoted to the sick poor, St. Mark's, St. John's in Redcliffe, St. Catherine's Brightbow, St. Bartholomew's and possibly Holy Trinity hospital and almshouse. They were not monasteries. In most of them as in St. Bartholomew's, London, we find a master, brethren, and sisters under some form of the rule of St. Austin. Let us consider them in detail.

[1] *English Monastic Life.*

St. Mark's or Gaunt's Hospital in Billeswick was founded in 1230, by Maurice Berkeley and enriched by a great stream of benefactions. Leland calls it an Augustinian Priory, others claim them as Bon-Hommes. They wore the same dress, except the badge, as the canons of Lechlade and their duties were to be the same (Lechlade was a Priory of Black Canons and a hospital). They had a master, 12 clerical and 5 lay brothers, 15 poor men, 12 choir boys to educate, and gave a daily meal to 100 poor folk. No mention is made of sisters. No extern might eat in the house " except in the infirmary," *i.e*, I suppose in the hospital department, for the house was clearly also a school and a chantry. I can find nothing in the charters as to the management of the infirmary, nor as to whether the 15 poor men were admitted for life or for the duration of their illness.

St. Catherine's Hospital was founded by two other Berkeleys, Robert and his brother Thomas, 1189-1220. Mention is made of the master, 2-4 brethren, sisters, and 12 poor men, apparently under the rule of St. Austin.[1] There was evidently nursing of the sick going on, and the Sarum charters refer to leprous women here, but if this is not an error for St. Mary Magdalen close by, there must have been a leper annexe. The house was not a rich one and few details of its life have survived. It is curious to note that its Master in 1446 was Thomas Abyngdon, musician of the Chapel Royal and another in later days was the celebrated John Bridgwater, the Cardinal Newman of his time, who, finding his opinions unsettled, gave up revenues of £3000 a year including the Rectorship of Lincoln, Oxford, retired here for a while to think out his position, and then fled to Douay and life long exile.

St. John's Hospital, Redcliffe, was founded in the early days of the hospital movement, at any rate it is

[1] *Proceedings of Clifton Antiq. Club*, A. E. Hudd, i, p. 257; ii, p. 244.

mentioned in 1207 as sharing in Berkeley's great water conduit. It had large buildings running down to the river and we are told that King Henry VI was lodged here in 1446, probably because it was the most convenient house to receive his retinue. The master, brethren and sisters under the rule of St. Austin, seem to have had unusually exciting times from their law suits, threatened bankruptcy and at one time a suspicion of Lollardry, which figure so often in Bishop Bubwith's register.[1] Here we get brief though decisive evidence of the work of the Fraternity of the Holy Spirit in the organization of hospitals and their funds. In 1254 Thomas Sessum, precentor of Wells, built close by a chapel of the Holy Spirit. In 1383, the Fraternity undertook the cost of its maintenance, while the hospital was to have the use of it. Probably the Fraternity took over more and more of the management of the hospital. Changes in the constitution are noticed about 1398. It ceased to be collegiate and the gift of the mastership was transferred from the Diocesan to the Corporation of Bristol. Latimer thought it was a mere leper house because of the sisters, but as we have seen, these were part of the usual staff of a hospital for the sick. There is evidence indeed that it had a leper annexe, but the king would hardly have been sent to lodge in a simple leper asylum. Though details of the work are very scanty, I think that we shall not be wrong in regarding this house as one of the chief hospitals for the sick in Bristol.

St. Bartholomew's Hospital has gained some fame, because it was converted into, or was in a sense, the parent of the Grammar School. It was founded by Lord de la Warre before 1287, and was at first a Priory of Austin Canons and then became a hospital for the poor. We read of a warden, a prioress and sisters. In 1445, there

[1] Somerset Record Society, vol. 29, *Bubwith's Register*.

occurs in the Red Book[1] a petition to the mayor sheriff and worthy council of the city and to other persons, notably masters of ships and mariners, that a gild of sailors might be formed whose headquarters should be in the existing hospital of St. Bartholomew by the licence of the master thereof. A priest and 12 poor sailors were to be lodged there and to pray for all in peril on the sea and to be supported by a tax of 4d. a ton on shipping and certain dues from the sailors' wages. This petition was granted, sealed and entered in the Red Book. Probably Chatterton was right that many other sick persons were lodged and treated there besides these sailors, but records are silent.

The Hospital of the Holy Trinity and St. George was founded or enlarged by Barstaple and his wife about 1390, inside the Lawford gate. It contained, as we know it, a warden and 12 poor men. We do not hear of any brethren or nursing sisters, so that at first sight it appears to be only an almshouse, but not only is it described in the calendar of Papal Registers of 1399 as a hospital for the sick poor, but as late as 1572 mention is made of the sick and destitute travellers who were taken in for one to three days at a time. This house alone escaped confiscation.

Thus besides numerous almshouses and monastic infirmaries, two leper houses and perhaps a commandery, we have five hospitals where there is some reason to think the sick poor were taken in, nursed and treated. None of them however seem to have rivalled the great hospitals of York, Gloucester, London, or Canterbury (with its great library of medical and other books). St. Mark's or Gaunt's Hospital in Billeswick was the wealthiest and perhaps had the finest buildings.

Let us next ask what medical men were available.

Physicians existed who were taught and licensed by the

[1] *Little Red Book of Bristol*, ii, p. 186.

universities of Oxford and Cambridge, Montpellier, Paris and the Italian schools. For there was much more intercourse with the continent than later on, and a great revival of medical studies had taken place. Among English physicians we meet with Tyngewick, John of Mirfield, Gilbert Anglicanus and John of Gaddesden. Sometimes we find them acting as wardens of the hospitals, as Dr. Pascal at Preston, Dr. J. Arundell at Bethlem, Dr. Recouchez at Pontefract, but no Bristol name marked *medicus* has survived earlier than John Free, who was born of Bristol parents, took his degree at Balliol in 1449 and was made rector of St. Michael's church, *i.e.*, I suppose received a grant of the greater tithes, and was sent by the Bishop of Ely to study in Italy. He became a lecturer on medicine at Padua, Florence and Ferrara and was a writer of some eminence. Many members of monastic orders took medical degrees even when in the priesthood in spite of various canons confining them to their proper functions. These restrictions were more stringent with respect to surgeons, but dispensations were granted them on good cause shown as in the case of the great surgeon Chauliac and others.

Surgeons. An important group of these was formed by the military surgeons, such as those to whom Edward I committed the care of his army in Scotland, and the surgical staff of Henry V in France under Master Morstead. It is curious that our City possesses a copy of the edition of "Chauliac's Surgery," made for the use of these very army surgeons in France, with an English glossary by command of the English Regent in France, 1422. Great care was taken of the sick and wounded in war and ambulances and nurses provided. The Knights Hospitallers too as we have seen had their depots all over the country. There were also a few surgeons, examined and licensed, not only by the Italian Universities, but also at Cambridge

and Oxford. This has been denied as to the latter places, but I have found some evidence in their favour—notably in 1302 and 1462.

THE BARBER-SURGEONS were a strange and peculiarly English institution. Barbers in many countries have carried on minor surgery, bleeding, and toothdrawing, and were in vogue in Europe during the leprosy period when they often managed the Turkish or Roman baths which were very numerous then. But in England they became united into legal corporations which gradually absorbed every class of surgeons, and sometimes physicians and other crafts, just as the medical gild to which Dante belonged comprised 36 crafts, such as artists, book-binders and mercers.

These Barber-Surgeon corporations were granted by the law a monopoly of surgical practice in the towns, and for 400 years included, educated, and licensed, almost all the British surgeons, among them such brilliant men as Wiseman, Clowes, Cheselden and Percivall Pott.

The surgical members built up a system of education by their apprenticeships, lectures, anatomical teaching and examinations; and they also become a sort of public health service. This was especially the case in London, which became a model for other towns and provided surgical lectures as early as about 1350.[1]

Most of the records of Barber-Surgeons have perished, but I have traced them in some 25 towns in the United Kingdom, and in 12 places there are copies of their Ordinances, "showing every variety of organization from the simple gild of barbers in some towns up to the great surgical corporations of London and 4 or 5 other places where a separate and somewhat oppressed section of barbers, wafer makers and others was linked up by law with the surgeons." Thus we find often in them barbers,

[1] Annals of Barber Surgeons of London, by Sidney Young.

barber-surgeons, and surgeons of the highest class, both civil and military. This was not the case on the continent, where they formed separate bodies.

The first stage of the legal union began with the Act of Parliament of 1363, that every man must belong to a gild. Then followed another in 1370 that apprenticeship in every craft should last seven years. Society was organized on syndicalist lines and these became more definite after a time. There was such a Barber-Surgeons' Society in Bristol, but the date of its foundation is unknown.

In the *Little Red Book* under the date 1395, we first find a reference to the Gild.[1] There is indeed no mention of surgical work, but the full Ordinances are not given, only a single new regulation made by William Frome, the mayor, the sheriff and the 40 who ruled the town, with the consent of the Barbers Gild, that no exercise of the craft in tonsure or in anything pertaining to the craft should be allowed on Sundays with certain exceptions. There happened to be a strong sabbatarian movement at the time, which explains this regulation. See Archbishop Chichele's injunctions.

Again in the *Red Book* in 1418, under Robert Russell, mayor, at the request of the Gild there is an enactment that the old Ordinances should be confirmed and it is laid down as to barbery that no one may carry on the craft unless he belongs to the Gild and unless he is also free of the town.[2] One or two minor regulations are added. Here we see the "Recognition of the Gild" and its monopoly, but again the text of the Ordinances is not given.

In 1421 Parliament passed a law against practitioners of physic who were not licensed by a University and surgeons who were not licensed by the Masters of the Art; in 1436 it went on to order the Ordinances of all Gilds (and therefore those of Barber-Surgeons) to be submitted to the

[1] *Ibid*, ii, 69.
[2] *Ibid*, ii, 135.

Magistrates of each town for ratification. Accordingly the Barber Surgeon Gilds in London, York, Bristol, Newcastle, Salisbury, Exeter and Durham applied for municipal licences.

In 1439, in the *Red Book*, an entry shows that the licence is granted.

The old ordinances were confirmed and fines for offences against them were to go partly to the town funds and partly to the Gild. The fines were now enforced by the Magistrates and the Gild or Company had a legal status under the common seal of the town. We find in a later writer that the Chirurgions Company were third in the order of precedence, following only the Merchant Taylors and the Weavers and the Mayor himself.

Not only the ordinances of this period but the names of the members are almost entirely lost. John Cheltenham was master of the Gild apparently in 1395 and with him were Pigot, Colchester, Stephens, Lawrence and at least half a dozen more. In 1418, Colchester was master, Adam Hardy a warden.

Besides these men, and John Grene, the witness of Canynge's will, hardly a name has been found to which *Cirurgicus* or *Leche* is added. I shall be asked why I do not mention William of Worcester among the medical men of the time, in view of his physic garden and his supposed authorship of the *Collectiones Medicales*, Sloane MSS. 84. It seems to me that his claims are very shadowy. The late Sir Norman Moore wrote to me that he had been over the MS. for me and found it was a collection of extracts and receipts of much later date, with also a discussion on the care of the health, by Dr. Kymer, physician to Duke Humphry of Gloucester. On the whole Worcester seems to have had no hand in it.

In the Tudor period Parliament enacted in 1540 that the London Company of Barber-Surgeons should be

[1] *Ibid*, ii, 152.

united to the existing Gild of Military Surgeons, and gave the new corporation great powers, and the right to have the bodies of two criminals a year for the study of anatomy, decreeing however that the barbers should entirely abstain from surgery and the surgeons from barbers' work. Vigorous educational measures followed under able teachers. The diploma in surgery was not given till after two or more examinations. Exhibitions to the universities and compulsory post-graduate lectures were founded, and the brilliant surgeons of Elizabethan and later times were the result. The London graduates obtained the right to practise all over England. Other towns followed their example. York sent to them for teachers of anatomy, Newcastle formed a great anatomical school. Edinburgh, Salisbury and Aberdeen got grants of bodies for dissection. Local companies copied even their coat of arms. The monopoly of surgery in the towns was strictly confined to these bodies for 200 years more, but in the height of their prosperity the lawyers found their rights defective, and public opinion grew against monopolies. The *laisser faire* theory of trade became accepted, and municipal close companies withered away. Parliament in 1745 was obliged to separate the London Barbers Company from the Surgeons, who afterwards became the Royal College of Surgeons. About the same time separation took place in York, Edinburgh, Bristol, Newcastle, Dublin and Norwich. State regulation ceased and henceforth anyone could practise without licence or examination till the nineteenth century brought in a new system.

Now as to Bristol, the second city of the kingdom during this period, what do we find. The company had a huge number of members, evidently teaching men for the rural districts as well as the city, a fine examination hall and dissecting room, but every minute book and register has perished. The site of their hall and their armorial bearings were forgotten. It was impossible to get a list

of their members until Mr. W. R. Pountney and I independently copied their names from the burgess books. This forms a most interesting list from about 1545 to 1745 when the practical breakdown and separation took place, giving the names of 500 admissions, many of them names well known today. There were also some 250 apothecaries and about 36 physicians, but the burgess books do not tell us how many of the 500 were passed as " skilled " in surgery, or how many were barbers, or what lectures or examinations they had. One copy of their Ordinances dated 1652, and in a contemporary handwriting, came into the possession of the late Mr. Francis Fox of Yate House. His family have kindly allowed me to transcribe it as the only text of the Ordinances of any date known to exist.[1] This section of the volume is headed " The copies of the Ordinances of severall Companies in Bristol, viz. (1). the Barber Chirurgions, etc." It is written on a stout paper 11½ by 7½, watermark a bell with lamb and flag.

The interesting points in these Ordinances are, as in those of other towns, the compulsory consultations in all serious cases or " cures " ; the restriction of surgery to those passed as skilful in surgery and free of the company, or as a later document calls them " the other part of the Company called Surgeons " ; the rule forbidding a surgeon to take over another man's patient until the first man's account had been settled ; the punishment for any neglect of a patient ; the rule for free attendance on the poor ; and the supervision of medical stores on ships. The Ordinances unfortunately do not include the regulations and minutes on teaching, but the MS. gives a later order of 1672 restricting still more the number of apprentices as the company was becoming too large.

We do not know where their hall was in mediæval times, possibly they shared the Gild Hall with others. By the kindness of Mr. Wilfrid Leighton, I find in the

[1] See appendix.

BARBER SURGEONS HALL, BRISTOL, from Exchange Avenue.

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papers of the Municipal Charities notes of deeds in the 17th century relating to the hall. In 1620 a building already known as Barbers Hall in the Court Place in a lane out of Corn Street was leased to the Barber Chirurgions by Mr. John Whitson, for 41 years at a rent of 20s. and a stipulation made that the premises should not be sublet for a school, victualling or tippling house. In 1656 this lease was renewed till 1697 at a rent of 40s. and mention is made of the upper chamber above the hall.

Then follow some measurements of the property. Now it is curious that these do not agree with those of the present building, which was used as the hall in the later years of the Company. This measures 40 feet by 26, whereas the lease gives 27 by 25. Either the house was enlarged or a new one built. Moreover the style of architecture shows that the present house was not designed so early as 1620 or 1656. On the whole we may be fairly certain that the existing hall was erected by the company as another document states, and that the date of this was about 1690-9. An argument for this view is given by a deed of 1699 where an agreement is recorded that Messrs. Jones and Burgess are to have the room "*formerly* called the Barbers Hall, and the room over it, situated over two of the cellars of Mr. T. Burgess," "that goeth athwart Cypher lane." There existed therefore the old hall and the new one. The latter was the scene of important meetings at the time of the break up of the Company and again just before the foundation of the Infirmary, when it was known as the Surgeons Hall. Several of the first meetings of the subscribers and committee of the Infirmary were held here. It is a building of some dignity, one front is in Shannon Court and the other is in Exchange Avenue. On the lowest floor were perhaps the committee rooms. On the first floor the hall seems to have occupied the whole area, and a narrow staircase led up to the anatomical theatre on the upper floor. Here additional

light was given by a glazed dome 18 feet in diameter. In the centre of this is still a hook from which according to tradition the bodies were raised and lowered by pulleys. Endless alterations have been made in the rooms but a fine moulding runs round the ceiling of the hall, now a billiard room. After the disruption of the Company the house was let[1] in 1745 to Andrew Hooke, the journalist, as a coffee house. It was mortgaged in 1750 by Isaac Page (master), J. Deverell, S. Pye, W. Hargest, J. Rosewell, sen., J. Hillier, Alex. Morgan and Sam. Tipton for £500 to Standfast Smith, apothecary and Charity Smith, spinster. In 1759, Thomas Ellis being master, the company bought up a ground rent of £4 on part of the premises. In 1767, T. Parsley, master, with other feoffees charged another mortgage of £100 on the building, advanced by Standfast Smith; Charity Smith was dead and Standfast was her heir.

In 1775, the premises were assigned to W. Baker of Tickenham by Charles Armitage, master, and other feoffees. Standfast Smith was dead and his executors accordingly appear in the deed.

At last in 1790, it was sold to Matthew Wright, merchant.

The deed recites that T. Parsley, barber surgeon, Charles Armitage, master, peruke maker, John and Philip Crocker and two other peruke makers being the only other members left of the Barber Surgeons, grant to Matthew Wright for the sum of £900 that messuage standing in or near the new Market, behind the Exchange, and fronting on a lane called Shannon Court and erected by the said company and formerly called Surgeons Hall, Committee Room and Anatomical Theatre, at one time occupied by Andrew Hooke, as his coffee house, and since by three successive tenants, together with the adjoining void ground and right of entry from

[1] Braikenridge Collection, Bristol Reference Library, *All Saints*: abstract of title deeds, p. 419.

Corn Street, and the right of taking water from the pump. A deed poll from another member who had not signed was added a month later.

As the West India Coffee House, the building was an important place of resort for merchants, since the Commercial Rooms were not in existence. Mr. A. E. Habgood of Shannon Court tells me that down to about 1840 Bills of Exchange were often made payable there. It is now a licensed house called "The Grapes." The ground floor is used as the Grotto Restaurant, and the entrance from Shannon Court is closed. My best thanks are due to Messrs. Forbes and Cayzer, the proprietors, for very kind help and permission to have photographs taken.

The history of the separation of Surgeons and Barbers in Bristol is traced with difficulty. In the minutes of the City Council, May 16, 1739 is a petition from Isaac Page and 31 others of the Barbers representing the impositions and grievances they lay under "from the other part of the Company called Surgeons." A counter petition follows from the master and wardens in answer "to the complaint of these uneasie members." The matter was referred to a Committee, but no report appears. Again in March, 1740 another petition from the master and one warden prayed that the Ordinances might be revised, owing to the great inconveniences felt, but nothing was done. Latimer[1] tells us that at the opening of the Exchange, 1743, the Surgeons Company appeared for the last time in the civic procession "marching with music."

Apparently about this time the Surgeons left the Society and ceased to qualify under it. As the monopoly had gone there was no use in belonging to a useless and expensive body. However Mr. John Page, one of the surgeons of the Infirmary, and his colleague James Ford, started courses of lectures on anatomy in the theatre of the hall in 1744, 1746, and 1747. As Page in a volume

[1] *Annals of Bristol*, 18th century, p. 219.

dated 1741 styled himself Prælector of Anatomy, he may have been lecturer under the Company. It is amusing to notice the bitterness and contempt with which the Barber Surgeons are spoken of after the separation, but in reading, for instance, Mr. Munro Smith's amusing stories, we must remember that the most highly polished of the Infirmary surgeons had been trained by and were members of the Company. Thus William Thornhill, a charming handsome man of good family who dressed in black velvet with a rapier by his side and who retired to his estate in Yorkshire on leaving the Infirmary,[1] was a member of the Company, apprenticed to W. Shepherd, and admitted to the freedom, 1719. Thomas Page, who lived in the great mansion in Redcliffe where Queen Anne had been entertained, was an apprentice of R. King and admitted in 1716. His son John was admitted 1737. James Ford, another of the honorary Surgeons, was an apprentice of T. Rosewell and admitted 1739, as my list from the Burgess Books shows. Later on he studied in London and Paris and became Surgeon to Queen Charlotte.

Armorial Bearings. The Company appears to have used the arms of the London Company, but no representation of them, or banner, was known to exist till lately when Mr. W. D. Fripp found and purchased a beautiful silver tobacco box bearing a coat of arms with two inscriptions—"The gift of Mr. Standfast Smith, 1769," and "Mr. Thomas Ellis, third time Master." Now Standfast Smith was a prominent apothecary in Corn Street, admitted to the freedom of the city 1738, and had been elected as Apothecary to St. Peter's Hospital. We have seen that he lent the decadent Company £600 on mortgage and died in or before 1775. Thomas Ellis was a Barber Surgeon admitted 1739, and is mentioned as Master in 1750. The arms are simply those of the London body and were used rightly or wrongly by Dublin, New-

[1] Munro Smith, *History of the Bristol Royal Infirmary*.

Tobacco box bearing the Arms of London Barber Surgeons as used by the Bristol Barber Surgeons.

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castle and Chester as well as by Bristol. They had been granted in 1569 by the Heralds College to the United Company. Originally the Society of Military Surgeons bore a rose gules crowned gold pierced by a spatula, with saints Cosmo and Damian as supporters. The Company of Barber Surgeons from the time of Henry VI bore three fleams (or bleeding lancets) argent with a chevron. These were finally combined quarterly with a cross gules over all and a lion passant gardant gold, an opinicus as crest, and two lynxes as supporters, just as given in the present instance.

Our survey of medical institutions began at the time of the first great movement for founding hospitals, *i.e.* in the 13th century. An even greater enthusiasm for them suddenly grew up in the early 18th century, to which we owe so many existing hospitals. I cannot now do more than refer in a few words to the new institutions which sprang up in Bristol. For two centuries the country had been practically without any hospitals—an unthinkable state of things to modern ideas. The Act of Elizabeth had authorized hospitals, or poor houses for single parishes, but hardly any were built, till Bristol obtained Carey's Act for combining parishes into unions and erecting a joint hospital. The extraordinary success of the Bristol Union and St. Peter's Hospital, 1696, led to the general adoption of the plan. The great voluntary hospitals began with the founding of the Westminster Infirmary in 1719, and some 20 towns soon provided themselves with stately buildings by local subscriptions. Bristol again was actually the first town in the English provinces to build and open an Infirmary in 1737. Dispensaries to supply medicines grew up in the same unexpected way all over the country, and in this too Bristol shared.

APPENDIX.

The Ordinances of Barber Chirurgions.[1]

Whereas the Company of Barber Chirurgions of and within the City of Bristol have been anciently incorporated and made a Society and Fellowship, known and called by the name of the Master, Wardens and Company of Barber Surgeons of the City of Bristol, and by the same name may purchase lands and tenements to them and their successors, and sue and be sued, and do execute and perform all other acts, deeds or things consonant and agreeable to law and reason as fully and absolutely for the better Reglement of the said Company as any other Company or Society may or might lawfully do within the said City. And whereas divers Ordinances, laws and constitutions heretofore made, granted and established for the welfare and government of the said Company and confirmed and approved by the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the said City, are now worn out, defaced and become illegible, and therefore [it is] fit and requisite they should be quickened and revived and the said Company ordered and enjoined to observe the same orders and government as formerly hath been used and accustomed. We therefore the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the said City, at the humble suit and petition of the said Master, Warden, and Company of Barber Chirurgions of the said City of Bristol, having taken the premises into consideration, and finding the same to be true, do as much as in us lyeth, and according to the ancient use and custom of the said City time out of mind used, approved and allowed,—re-establish, ratify, and confirm the said Company and Society of Barber Chirurgions of the said City, by the name of the Master, Warden and Company of the Barber Chirurgions of the City of Bristol, that by the same name of incorporation may sue and be sued, and be capable to purchase, have, receive and take lands, Tenements, or other hereditaments to them and their successors, and may from time to time make good and reasonable laws, ordinances and constitutions agreeable to law and reason, the customs and privileges of the said City, for the better order rule and government of the said Company and Society as to them from time to time shall seem meet and convenient.

(1). And it is ordered, agreed and established that, as anciently hath been used, the said Master Wardens and Company of Barber Chirurgions of the said City shall yearly upon the 16th day of September, if it be not Sunday, or the next day following,

[1] Transcribed by permission from a copy preserved at Yate House.

assemble and meet together in their common Hall to elect and choose one of the said Company to be Master for the year then next following, at which time, if any of the said Company being summoned and warned shall not attend and appear—unless in case of sickness or other reasonable cause of absence, he shall forfeit and pay the sum of ten shillings in current money ;

(2). In like manner for not appearing upon any quarter day, if summoned or his house warned to that purpose, or not paying such Quarterage as commonly hath [been] used and accustomed, shall forfeit for every time neglecting or refusing, the sum of three shillings and four pence to be divided as hereafter is expressed.

(3). And it is agreed that whatever person or persons of the said Company shall be elected Master of the said Company and shall refuse to take the said office upon him or them, and take his oath before the Mayor for the time being within twenty days after his election, as anciently hath been accustomed, then every such person or persons so refusing or neglecting shall forfeit and pay for such refusal or neglect 40 shillings, the one half of which forfeiture shall be paid to the said Mayor of the City of Bristol for the time being for the use of the poor, and the other half to their said Company for the use and benefit of their common Hall and Company.

(4). Item that the said Company shall upon the same day elect and choose one or two Wardens of the said Company to attend on the said Master of the said Company, and to take his or their oaths in like manner before the Mayor, as anciently hath been used; and if any person or persons shall be elected Warden or Wardens of the said Company and shall refuse to take the said office upon him or them and to be sworn as aforesaid, that then every person or persons so refusing shall forfeit and pay for every such offence 20 shillings to be divided as aforesaid.

(5). Item it is ordered that no person or persons of the said Company shall take any apprentice for any lesser term than seven years, to be bound by indentures to be made at and entered in the Tolzey of the said City according to the customs thereof,—upon pain that every person or persons doing the contrary shall forfeit and pay for every such offence 40 shillings to be divided as foresaid, and that no person or persons of the said Company shall keep above two apprentices at any one time, unless he be or hath been Master of the said Company, on pain to forfeit and pay for every such offence 40 shillings, and besides shall forfeit 3s. 4d. for every day he shall retain and keep such an apprentice or servant

contrary to this order, and that such person or persons that have or hath been or hereafter shall be Master or Masters of the said Company shall and may keep three apprentices at one time, but not more than three upon pain that every person or persons offending and doing the contrary shall forfeit and pay for every such offence 40 shillings, and 3s. 4d. for every day after as aforesaid, the same penalties to be divided as aforesaid.

(6). Item that no person or persons of the said Company whatsoever shall receive or retain into his service any journey-man stranger without leave of Mr. Mayor for the time being, or any other to be a journey-man for any lesser or longer term or time than one whole year, without leave from the Masters and Wardens of the said Company for the time being, on pain of 40 shillings for every month that he shall keep any such, and the said journeyman so received and admitted shall pay to the Masters of the said Company for his entrance 2s. 6d.; and every Master shall pay for the entrance of every apprentice, 12 pence for the benefit of the Hall; provided that for a stranger travelling upon the way, it shall be lawful for any of the Company to keep and retain such stranger by leave of Mr. Mayor for the time being, by the space of twenty days and not above, and having also leave of the Master of the said Company, and not otherwise upon pain that every person or persons by doing the contrary shall forfeit and pay for every such offence 40 shillings to be divided as aforesaid.

(7). Item that no person or persons whatsoever shall from henceforth keep any house, chamber or shop within the said City or suburbs thereof to the intention to work or use the mystery or occupation of a barber or shall use or exercise that trade or mystery in Bristol before he shall be sworn and made a free Burgage of the said City and Company and received into the Society aforesaid, without special cause allowed by the Mayor and Aldermen for the time being, upon pain that the person or persons retaining or keeping any such in his or their house to forfeit for every week offending 20 shillings, and the party using or exercising such mystery to forfeit and pay for every offence 13s. 4d. to be divided as aforesaid.

(8). And that no Master of the said Company shall make any stranger or person whatsoever, not having served seven years as an apprentice in Bristol, free of the said Company and Society upon pain to forfeit 20 pounds to be divided as aforesaid, unless the whole Company and Society shall thereunto assent and agree.

(9). Item that no Barber of the said Company shall trim,

barb, or shave any person or persons whatsoever within the liberties of the said City upon a Sabbath day, upon pain to forfeit or pay for every such offence six shillings and eightpence to be divided as aforesaid.

(10). And that no person or persons whatsoever of the said Company or City shall from henceforth take in hand any Cure within the liberties of the said City before such time as he shall come to the Hall of the said Company and be allowed by the said Company to be a sufficient workman and skilful in the art of Surgery and made free of the said Company—unless it shall be in a time of extremity when no chirurgion of the said Company or City can within convenient time be found, or unless it be done gratis to a poor body in the time of necessity, or upon some other reasonable cause to be allowed by the Master and Company as aforesaid upon pain to forfeit for every such offence and pay forty shillings to be divided as aforesaid.

(11). Item, that no chirurgion or chirurgions of the said Company shall take any Cure out of another's hands without his consent, or before such time as he which took the same Cure first in hand be satisfied contented for his pains in such reasonable sort and manner, as shall be thought fit and adjudged by two different persons, the one to be chosen by the chirurgion and the other by the patient; or that he be excused by the Mayor for the time being, upon pain to forfeit and pay for every such offence, 20 shillings to be divided as aforesaid.

(12). And that no person or persons of the said Company taking in hand any Cure, shall suffer such a Cure to perish for want of looking unto, but shall do his uttermost endeavour and give due attendance upon every such patient as he or they shall take in hand, to the best of his power and skill until such a Cure be ended—upon pain to forfeit for every such offence, £5, to be divided as aforesaid.

(13). Item, that no person or persons of the said Company shall at any time hereafter use any opprobrious unseemly or uncomely words to anyone that is, hath been, or shall be Master of the said Company, upon pain of forty shillings, and to be further dealt with as the Mayor of the said city for the time being, shall think fit.

(14). And that no person or persons of the said Company having lawful warning to appear at the Hall of the Company shall refuse to come, and absent himself or themselves from the Common Hall at the usual times of meeting or at Quarter Days,

unless he or they have lawful excuse to the contrary, to be allowed by the Master and Company for the time being, upon pain that every such offender or offenders shall forfeit and pay for every time of absence or refusal, 6s. 8d. to be divided as aforesaid.

(15). Item, that no man of the Company of Barber Chirurgions shall keep at any time more than one shop or house to use the art or occupation of Barbing, or shaving within the liberties of the City of Bristol, upon pain of every week so doing 40 shillings, to be divided as aforesaid; that is, one half to the Mayor for the use of the poor and the other half to the Masters and Wardens of the Company for the good of the Hall.

(16). Item, that no person or persons of the said Company shall from henceforth take upon him or them to cure any person of any wound or grief which is in danger to lose his life or limb, before he acquaint two or three of the chiefest and most skillful therewith, who may view the same Cure before he take it in hand upon [pain] to forfeit for such offence five pounds to be divided as beforesaid.

(17). Item, that every stranger to the liberties of this City, which shall be shipped as chirurgion for a voyage in any ship, barque or vessel out of or from this port of Bristol, shall pay to the said Company at his return from sea, being demanded by the Master or Wardens of the said Company for the time being or any of them, the sum of 2s. 6d., and for refusal to pay the same, shall forfeit and pay 5s. to be divided as aforesaid.

(18). Item, that if any poor or impotent person of this City shall by any accident be hurt, or any other way diseased, wherein he shall have cause to use the help of a chirurgion for his better recovery that in such cases the Master of the said Company shall appoint a sufficient man to cure him and upon curing of such party or parties, the chirurgion shall present a bill of charges wherein the Mayor and two aldermen shall set down what the party cured shall pay for the salve and medicine, the chirurgion to do such a Cure gratis where there is not ability for the party cured to pay for the same.

(19). Item, it is ordered and established that all Chirurgions whatsoever exercising the Art and Mystery of Surgery, whether Burgesses or freemen of this City, or strangers and not freemen of this City, that shall be at any time hereafter entertained to go Chirurgion, in any ship or vessel bound out or from this city or any the ports harbours or creeks thereunto belonging, in any voyages whatsoever, shall before he or they send his chest aboard any ship or vessel, give notice thereof to the Master and Wardens

of the said Company for the time being, to the end [that] the said chest may be reviewed and examined by the Master of the said Company and two others at least of the said Company for the sufficiency and well furnishing thereof with all things necessary for the said voyages, upon pain that every freeman of the said City, or stranger that shall offend in doing the contrary shall forfeit the sum of 20 shillings to be divided as aforesaid.

(20). Item, it is ordered that every free Burgess of this City or his servant upon or after viewing of his chest, and allowance thereof, shall presently give and pay to the Master of the said Company to the use and benefit of their Hall and Company 2s. 6d., or in default of payment thereof shall forfeit the sum of 5s. 8d., and every stranger not being a free burgess shall give and pay to the use aforesaid, 3s. 4d., or otherwise shall forfeit the sum of ten shillings to be divided as aforesaid.

(21). Item, it is ordered that if the Master of the said Company shall not within 24 hours after notice to him given of any chest to be sent abroad, either view such chest himself, or cause the same to be viewed by others of the Company as aforesaid, such Master shall forfeit the sum of 6s. 8d. and the person retained may send his chest aboard and deliver the key thereof to the master or owners of the ship or vessel, so as he or they receiving the key, do first see the chest himself and allow thereof.

(22). Item, it is ordered that after view of any chest by the Master or others of the said Company the same chest shall be locked up by the Master if approved of, and the key thereof delivered to the master or owners of the said ship or vessel to which such chirurgion shall belong, and if any differences shall grow or arise thereof betwixt the viewers and owners of any chest touching insufficiency in provisions or else, the same shall be determined by the master and owners of the ship in which the chest is [?] and in default of their agreement, the Mayor and any two aldermen of the City or more of them, shall put an end thereunto and order what they think meet therein.

(23). And lastly the said Mayor and Aldermen and Common Council of the City having passed and considered of the before mentioned articles do approve of them as reasonable and convenient for the said Company from henceforth to observe, and for the avoiding of outrage and breach of the peace, which is occasioned by and upon taking of distresses for breach of articles by which Companies are regulated, as by common experience appeareth. We therefore do order appoint and decree that for

breach of these and any other articles ordinances and constitutions by which the said Company is governed, or which are or shall be made for their regulation or government, it shall be lawful for the Master of the said Company to bring an action of debt in his name for the recovery of any pains or penalty, that from henceforth shall be forfeited by any person or persons for or by reason of the said articles orders and constitutions or any of them; the same action or actions to be prosecuted in the Court of Record, to be holden in the same City before the Mayor and Aldermen there, and the sum or sums which shall be there recovered, to be distributed, bestowed in manner and form as before is limited and appointed, that is to say the one half of such fine to the said Mayor and Aldermen for the time being, to the use of the poor of the said City, and the other half to the use of the said Company; provided that if any article act or thing herein contained shall be found hereafter repugnant to law reason or the common profit of the City and people therein, and thought not meet to be continued or put in execution; that then so often the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the said City shall and may rectify reform and redress the same as to them shall seem meet and requisite.

In witness whereof, we the said Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the said City of Bristol have caused the common seal of incorporation of the said City, to be hereunto set and affixed, the seventeenth day of April in the year of our Lord God, according to the Computation of the Church of England, 1652.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE FONTS.

(*d*) Fifteenth Century.

By Alfred C. Fryer, Ph.D., F.S.A.

(With Six Plates).

THE twenty-six fonts we have to consider in this paper[1] exhibit many of the marked features of the Perpendicular Period of Architecture. The rectangular faces of the octagonal bowls are in some cases separated by chamfered or rounded shafts while the panels are frequently surrounded by moulded frames.[2] The faces are usually decorated with one or in some cases two quatrefoils sometimes enclosed in circles and possessing plain centres or centres of feathered cusps,[3] four-leaf flowers, roses or conventional foliage. This conventional foliage is altogether devoid of the freshness and beauty of the decorated style and possesses remarkably square and angular forms which are characteristics of Perpendicular Architecture. The bowls are sometimes decorated with trefoil-headed niches[4] like two of the faces on the bowl at Wickwar, forming effective surfaces for colour decoration or even figure painting as may still be seen on many of the screens of this period. No bowl in this series is adorned with window-tracery except one panel at Abson (Plate III) where we find four trefoil headed lights. The octagonal faces of the chamfer of the bowls are occasionally plain, but are more frequently decorated with paterae of Perpen-

[1] The three earlier papers are (a) Vol. XL, 39; (b) XLI, 27; (c) XLII, 69.

[2] Abson, Buckland and Elkstone.

[3] Weston Birt.

[4] The decoration of each face of the bowl at Awre is divided into two parts and the lower one has an oblong panel containing a semi-circle within which is trefoil-headed tracery.

dicular ornament[1]; at Buckland (Plate V) each face has a quatrefoil in a circle with a centre of Tudor flower cresting and at Awre (Plate V) we find a band of interlaced arcading. Many pedestals are now plain[2] although in medieval times they were richly adorned with schemes of colour decoration, some possess trefoil headed niches,[3] some are adorned with window-tracery,[4] the one at Stone possesses well-formed mouldings and quatrefoils, at Elkstone the ornamentation consists of sunk rectangular panels, while at Pebworth (Plate II) there appears never to have been a pedestal as the font, in this particular case, has only a bowl and a base. One central shaft and eight flying buttresses containing trefoil-headed arches support the beautiful bowl at Brimpsfield (Plate III), while corner buttresses are also found at Buckland (Plate V), Mickleton and Minsterworth (Plate IV) rising from chamfered bases. Heavy buttresses of a somewhat clumsy description support the centre of each face of the pentagonal stem of the font (Plate II) in the little church of St. Mary the Virgin at Syde. Several fonts possess deeply chamfered and moulded bases as may be seen at Buckland (Plate V), Elkstone (Plate I), Hinton-on-the-Green (Plate I) and Mickleton, while at Syde (Plate II) the form of the base is pentagonal which is very unusual. The characteristic ornament called Tudor-flower cresting[5] is seen on the pedestals at Buckland (Plate V) and Mickleton.

The font at Pebworth (Plate II) has a small step

[1] Elkstone, Hinton-on-the-Green, Little Badminton, Minsterworth and Snowshill.

[2] Awre, Colesborne, Cromhall, Eastleach Martin, Great Rissington and South Cerney.

[3] Hinton-on-the-Green, Icomb, Snowshill, Swindon and Weston Birt.

[4] Abson, Buckland, Mickleton and Minsterworth.

[5] The Perpendicular ornament is called Tudor-flower cresting not because it was introduced in the times of the Tudor monarchs, but because it was much used in that style of architecture. It usually consists of a fleur-de-lis, alternately with a small trefoil or ball. See illustration in Parker's *Introduction to Gothic Architecture*, 206.

possessing a sloping surface of 16 inches by 15 inches for the priest to stand on while administering the rite of baptism. This step is not detached, but is carved out of the same block of stone as the base and is, therefore, coeval with the font.

Cow Honeybourne Chapel in pre-reformation days was served by the clergy of the ancient abbey of Winchcombe on which it was entirely dependent. At the dissolution of that Monastery this chapel passed into lay hands and finally the Parochial Poor Law Authorities formed it into five tenements, while the tower became store rooms for coal and potatoes. The original Perpendicular tower still remains, but the chapel was rebuilt in 1861-2 and is again used for divine worship. The present Vicar[1] of Church Honeybourne recently found a fifteenth century stone vessel on a neighbouring farm which he conjectured was the medieval font of Cow Honeybourne Chapel. This octagonal vessel[2] is too small to have been a fifteenth century font, neither is there any indication that it ever possessed cover-fastenings so that it would appear to have been a pillar piscina or a holy-water stoup. Unfortunately the bottom has been knocked away so that we cannot say whether it possessed a drain, and this damage was executed, probably, when the vessel was flung out of the desecrated chapel.

Eight of our fifteenth century Gloucestershire fonts[3] have their octagonal bowls decorated on each face with two quatrefoils placed in rectangular panels and it seems probable that there was another bowl of the same design at Mickleton. Six[4] of these quatrefoils are plain and two[5]

[1] The Rev. G. Coopland.

[2] Each face—1 ft. × 8 ins., with an internal diameter of 13 ins.

[3] Abbenhall, Aust, Awre, Brimpsfield, Buckland, Hartpury, Minsterworth, Stone, and probably Mickleton which appears to have been a variant of the font at Buckland.

[4] Abbenhall, Aust, Awre, Hartpury, Minsterworth and Stone.

[5] Brimpsfield and Buckland.

possess centres adorned with roses. The fonts at Aust[1] and Brimpsfield (Plate III) have central pedestals with a flying buttress under each corner of the octagonal bowl and in this respect they are not altogether dissimilar to the font at Chepstow, which is only three miles from Aust as the crow flies. The fonts at Minsterworth (Plate IV) and Hartpury[2] are variants of the same design. Both possess two quatrefoils on each face, the moulded chamfers are ornamented with paterae of Perpendicular foliage, the pedestals are decorated with window-tracery of the same period of architecture and each corner has a gabled buttress. The window-tracery, however, on the stem at Minsterworth (Plate IV) is of a more varied and ornate design than that carved on the Hartpury font, while the latter has a band of cresting at the bottom of the pillar. At Awre (Plate V) we find a font with only the upper part of the bowl decorated with two quatrefoils on each face,[3] while at Stone (Plate IV) the font is adorned with as many as 48 quatrefoils—two on each face of the octagonal bowl and four on each face of the pillar. The projecting rim of the bowl, the well-cut mouldings of the chamfer and base, and the deep moulding or collar round the centre of the stem relieve to a great extent what would otherwise have been a somewhat monotonous design. The font at Buckland (Plate V) also belongs to this series of fonts possessing two quatrefoils on each panel of the bowl. The chamfer is decorated with large quatrefoils possessing centres of cresting sprouting from the lowest foil. Each face of the pedestal is ornamented with Perpendicular window-tracery of two lights with a band of cresting below and flanked on each side with a corner gabled buttress. This font is a most pleasing and harmonious

[1] *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, XLI, 28, 32 illustrated on Plate I.

[2] *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, XLII, 70, illustrated on Plate IX.

[3] The lower part of each face of the octagonal bowl consists of semi-circles containing trefoil-headed tracery while the chamfer is decorated with interlaced arches.

design. A variant evidently existed at Mickleton some eight miles from Buckland. The original pedestals of the two fonts are similar in every detail, but the bowl at Mickleton was evidently lost for in 1661 a new bowl was constructed. This bowl is either intended for a copy of the Buckland font with the two quatrefoils on each face or it was made on the pattern of the font which was destroyed. At Abbenhall[1] is a particularly interesting font possessing two quatrefoils in ovals placed in rectangular panels on each face of the bowl.

This interesting series of fonts possessing two quatrefoils on each panel of the octagonal bowl has not been sufficiently recognised by those who have written on rectilinear fonts. Not one of them is illustrated or even mentioned in Simpson's *Ancient Baptismal Fonts* (1828). They are not specially referred to in the letter-press accompanying Paley's *Illustrations of Baptismal Fonts* (1844), although three of the plates show this particular decoration, viz., the fonts at Axbridge (Somerset), Bradford Abbas (Dorset), and at Holy Trinity Church, Coventry. The late Mr. Francis Bond neither illustrates nor mentions any of them in his fine volume on *Fonts and font-covers*; but Mr. J. Charles Wall, however, in his delightfully illustrated work on *Porches and Fonts*, gives a drawing[2] of the mutilated font at Stratford-on-Avon in which William Shakespeare was probably baptized[3] and which belongs to this particular type of fifteenth century font.[4]

[1] See *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, XL, 43-45, 51 and illustration on plate I.

[2] Page 240, fig. 102.

[3] This font has had a remarkable history. It was discovered in the charnel-house of the church at Stratford-on-Avon when it was demolished in the eighteenth century. For a time it found a resting place in the churchyard, after which the parish clerk turned it into a trough for the pump at his cottage. At a later date, Captain Saunders, who was a great admirer of Shakespeare, bought it, and when he died it passed into the hands of a local builder and contractor, who kept it in a yard until 1843. Then the owner of the Shakespeare Hotel purchased it, placing it on the lawn of his house, and now it is once again in the church at Stratford-on Avon.

[4] Stratford-on-Avon is situated near the Gloucestershire border and is only some eight miles distant from Mickleton where there is a replica or variant of this class of font.

The thirteenth century church at Little Badminton (Plate II) possessed a Perpendicular font[1] which was removed to the grounds of Badminton House when a new font was given to the church. For some time it did duty as a flower vase; but it is now preserved in a builder's shed where it is protected from the weather. It is to be hoped that this beautiful font may again find a home in the ancient church of Little Badminton. The octagonal bowl is decorated with quatrefoils possessing centres of feathered cusps, roses and four-leaf flowers, while the chamfer is adorned with pateræ of fifteenth century ornamentation.

In our last paper[2] it was mentioned that the fifteenth century font in the church of St. Mary the Virgin, Kempsford, disappeared in 1868,[3] being the date when the present font was presented to the church and no trace of it can be discovered. Now we have to record that the old font in the small church of the Holy Trinity, Tibberton, is thought to have vanished at a date when the south and west doorways were blocked up and an entrance with a porch constructed on the west side of the tower. At Preston-on-Stour the ancient font seems to have been lost in 1780 when the present eighteenth century one was erected at a time when much reconstruction was being carried out in the church.

The drastic alterations which so many churches have undergone in comparatively recent years seem to be responsible for the loss of their ancient fonts. This was the case, probably, in the parish churches of Pitchcombe in 1819, Horsley in 1838, Coaley in 1857, Maisey Hampton in 1870, Upleadon in 1876, and at Whitminster in 1884; while at Shipton Moyne the old font is no longer in its

[1] The original pedestal is lost and the bowl now rests on a modern octagonal stem.

[2] *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, XLII, 75.

[3] Sir Stephen Glynne visited Kempsford on the 29th January, 1858 and describes the font as "a plain octagonal bowl." *Gloucestershire Church Notes*, 110.

place although in 1843 the bowl was described as "octangular with sunk panels, each containing a quatrefoil within a circle, and sufficiently large for immersion." May not this font be discovered by diligent search?

The church of St. Lawrence, Stroud, was rebuilt from the foundations in the year 1866 except the seventeenth century (1626) tower and spire, and it is more than probable that the old font disappeared at that date while a similar fate most likely befel the ancient font at Randwick when the church was entirely rebuilt with the exception of the early Perpendicular western tower.

The nave at Rockhampton church was rebuilt about the year 1862-3 and it seems probable that the fifteenth century font disappeared during this period of re-construction. In the second volume of Fosbrooke's *Gloucestershire* is a plate facing page 111 with a drawing of this font as it appeared in 1807. The sketch portrays an octagonal bowl, pedestal, chamfered base and step, while the faces of the bowl are adorned with quatrefoils having alternate centres of small heater-shaped shields and circular discs. The chamfer possesses no sculpture and the stem is adorned with plain shields. The church of St. Cyr, Stinchcombe, seems to be another instance where the old font appears to have vanished when the church was rebuilt in 1855 and a nineteenth century bowl and pedestal were erected in its place.

Sir Stephen Glynne in his *Gloucestershire Church Notes* remarks that he visited Ashleworth Church on the 12th December 1857 and found "a large octagonal bowl, panelled with quatrefoils of Perpendicular character, on a stem of like form."[1] This fifteenth century font is no longer in this church and a modern one now stands in its place.

There can be little doubt that the font at Kemerton was in position before the church was rebuilt in 1847 as in

[1] P. 105

H. E. Relton's *Sketches of Churches,* published in 1843, it is stated—" the font stands at the west end of the nave and is no doubt as old as the original part of the church; it is octangular and perfectly plain, a basin 21 inches in diameter and 11 inches deep." It seems not unlikely that this Perpendicular font may have been discarded or lost when the present modern font was given to the church.

The bowl at Woodchester was destroyed in the Commonwealth period, but the pedestal was spared and held a small pewter bowl which is still in existence. A modern restoration[1] of this church is responsible for the final loss of the stem of this ancient font. At Wapley the oblong rectangular base alone remains to point to the fact that this church once possessed a medieval font.

We have recorded in an earlier paper[2] of this series of Gloucestershire fonts that the circular Norman bowl at Hill was cut into an hexagon about the year 1450 when an hexagonal moulded pedestal and base were added. A similar fate overtook the Norman tub-shaped bowl belonging to the church at Maisemore (Plate VI) when the vicar and churchwardens at some period in the fifteenth century thought good to transform it into an octagon and even now with the change of form the rim [3] of the bowl at each corner of the octagon can compare in thickness with four of the Gloucestershire tub-shaped fonts.[4] Another instance of a Norman tub-shaped font being cut into an octagon is met with at Clifford Chambers (Plate VI).

[1] In the year 1860.
[2] *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, XXXVII, 117, 128 (illustrated).
[3] Rim—4 ins.
[4] Acton Turville, Chedworth, Southrop and Willersey.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE FONTS.

Fifteenth Century.

C=Circumference. H=Height. D=Depth. R=Rim. Diam.=Diameter. Ext.=Exterior. Int.=Interior.

	Bowl.	Pedestal.	Reference.	Remarks.
Abson (St. James).	Octagonal bowl; three panels adorned with quatrefoils having centres of roses (3 are in circles), one panel with large rose and 4 leaves, and one with window-tracery (4 lights). D. Int.=10 ins.; Diam.=2 ft.; R.=5 to 6 ins.; each panel=1 ft. 2 ins. × 1 ft. 2 ins.; D. of bowl and chamfer=1 ft. 10 ins.	Octagonal pedestal, each face (1 ft. 3½ ins. × 1 ft. 3½ ins.) adorned with trefoil-headed window tracery (2 lights); chamfered plinth (6½ ins. × 9 ins. × 9 ins.) Modern step.	———	A handsome font dating, probably, from the later years of the XV century.

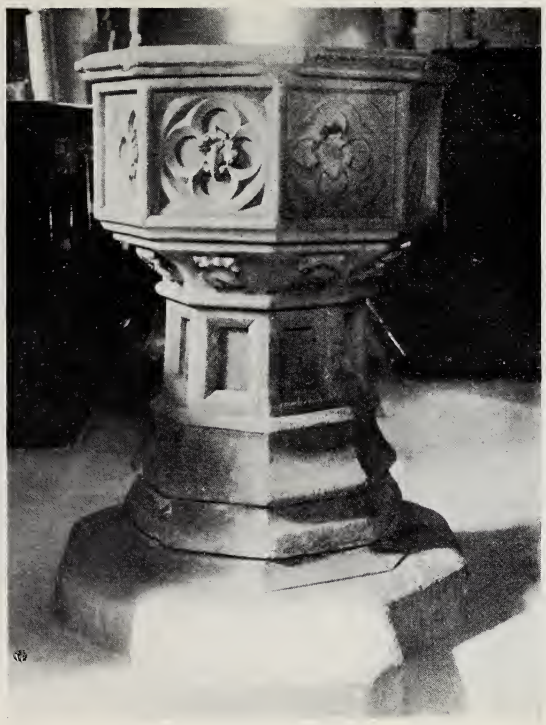
	Bowl.	Pedestal.	Reference.	Remarks.
Awre (St. Andrew).	Octagonal bowl; each panel 11 ins. × 11 ins. adorned with two small quatrefoils in rectangles with a semi-circle beneath containing trefoil-headed tracery. Chamfer decorated with interlaced arches. Diam. Int.=1 ft. 9 ins. D. Int.=11½ ins.; R. =3½ to 4¾ ins.	Plain octagonal pillar. Each face=12½ × 8 ins. Chamfered plinth 8½ ins. × 10 ins. × 4 ins. Modern octagonal base and step.	Glynne's *Glouc. Church Notes*, 147, 148; Cox's *Gloucestershire*, 52.	This font probably dates from the early years of the XV century.

BRIMPSFIELD (St. Lawrence).	Octagonal bowl decorated with two quatrefoils on each face possessing centres of roses and four-leaf flowers set in rectangular panels ($6\frac{1}{2}$ ins. × $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins.). H. of Bowl and moulded chamfer=1 ft. 6 ins.; D. Int.=1 ft. 1 in.; Diam. Int.=2 ft.	Each face of the octagonal pedestal=10 ins. × 7 ins. and a flying buttress enclosing a trefoil headed arch supports each corner of the bowl. The base $12\frac{1}{2}$ ins. × 6 ins. is moulded and each face of octagonal step=2 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. × 9 ins.	*Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc. Trans.* XX, 321; Daubeny's *Ancient Cotswold Churches*, 191; Cox's *Gloucestershire*, 69.	This font is a handsome and most beautiful design.
BUCKLAND (St. Michael).	Each face ($11\frac{1}{2}$ in. × 6 ins.) of octagonal bowl is decorated with two quatrefoils having roses for centres and set in rectangular panels. The chamfer (11 ins. × 7 ins. × 7 ins.) possesses quatrefoils on each face having centres formed of Tudor cresting sprouting from the bottom of the quatrefoil. D. Int.=10 ins.; Diam. Int. =1 ft. 10 ins.; R=$4\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins.	Octagonal stem adorned on each face with a two-light trefoil headed window-tracery (1 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. × 5 ins.) with band of cresting at bottom, gabled corner buttresses rise from supports in the chamfered base (8 ins. × 10 ins. × $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins.)	Glynne's *Glouc. Church Notes*, 122; Daubeny's *Ancient Cotswold Churches*, (Analytical Index).	A very rich ornate design.

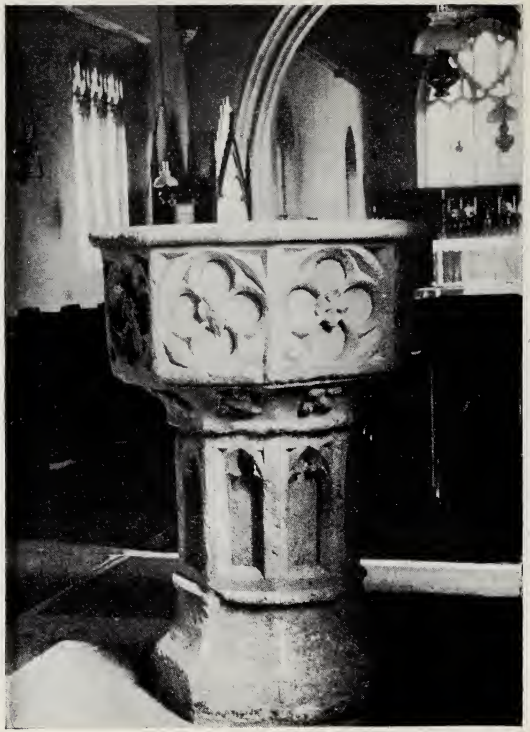
	Bowl.	Pedestal.	Reference.	Remarks.
Clifford Chambers (St. Helen).	A Norman tub-shaped font cut into an octagon in the XV century. Each face=1 ft. 9 ins. varying in width from 9 to 12 ins. at top to 7 and 9½ ins. at bottom. D. Int.=1 ft. 1½ ins.; Diam. Int. (top)=1 ft. 6½ ins, (bottom)=1 ft. 4 ins.; R=3 to 4 ins.	No pedestal.	———	———
Colesborne (St. James).	Faces of octagonal bowl adorned with quatrefoils in circles containing alternate plain centres and centres filled with four-leaf flowers. Chamfer (11½ ins. × 6 ins. × 7 ins.) has plain heater-shaped shield (6 ins. × 4½ ins. on each face. Diam. Int.=1 ft. 10 ins.; D. Int.=1 ft. 1 in.; R.=4 to 5 ins.	Plain octagonal pillar with mouldings top and bottom. Each face=1 ft. × 6 ins.; chamfered base=8 ins × 6 ins. × 6 ins. Each face of low octagonal step=1 ft. 11 ins. × 3 ins.	Daubeny's *Ancient Cotswold Churches*, 181.	———

CROMHALL (St. Andrew).	Each face ($11\frac{1}{2}$ ins. × $11\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) of octagonal bowl adorned with quatrefoils set in rectangular panels. D. Int. $=8\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; D. Ext.= $11\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; Diam. Int.= 1 ft. 10 ins.; R.=$3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 ins. Moulded Cham. fer=$11\frac{1}{2}$ ins. × 7 ins. × 8 ins.	Plain octagonal stem; each face=1 ft. 6 ins. × $5\frac{3}{4}$ ins. Moulded octagonal base= $6\frac{1}{4}$ ins. × $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins. × 10 ins.	Glynne's *Glouc. Church Notes*, 94.	This font has been carefully repaired in several places.
EASTLEACH MARTIN (SS. Michael and Martin).	Each face ($11\frac{1}{2}$ ins. × $13\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) of octagonal bowl adorned with quatrefoils having centre of roses, four-leaf flowers etc., with plain chamfer 1 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; D. Int.=11 ins.; Diam Int.= 1 ft. 8 ins.; R.= $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins.	Each face of plain octagonal pillar=1 ft. × $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins., and chamfered octagonal base =8 ins. × 11 ins. × $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins.	Daubeny's *Ancient Cotswold Churches*, 124.	———

	Bowl.	Pedestal.	Reference.	Remarks.
Elkstone (St. John the Evangelist).	Each face (10 ins. × 10 ins.) of octagonal bowl decorated with quatrefoils having centres of fern-leaf flowers etc., with conventional foliage on each face of chamfer. D. Ext. (bowl and chamfer)=1 ft. 5 ins.; D. Int.=1 ft.; Diam. Int.=1 ft. 9 ins.; R.=5 to 6 ins.	Each face of stem (8 ins. by 6 ins.) has a rectangular panel. Deep moulded base =10 × 7 ins. × 11½ ins.; octagonal plinth =5 ins. × 1 ft. 2 ins.	Glynne's *Glouc. Church Notes*, 137; *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc. Trans.* XX, 243; Cox's *Gloucestershire*, 114; Daubeny's *Ancient Cotswold Churches*, 194.	Sir Stephen Glynne is mistaken in his remark that the centres of the quatrefoils adorning this bowl are scrolls, as they are four-leaf flowers etc.
Great Rissington (St. John the Baptist).	Each face (1 ft. × 1 ft. 1 in.) of octagonal bowl adorned with plain quatrefoils and chamfer (11¾ ins. × 5½ ins. × 7½ ins.) with heater-shaped shields (6 ins. × 5 ins.). D. Ext.=1 ft. 2 ins.; D. Int.=1 ft.; Diam. Int.=1 ft. 8 ins.; R.=5½ to 7 ins.	Each face of plain octagonal pillar=8½ ins × 5½ ins.; chamfered octagonal base=5½ ins. × 8½ ins. × 8 ins. Two modern steps.	Glynne's *Glouc. Church Notes*, 154; Daubeny's *Ancient Cotswold Churches*, 89.	This font has been refaced and only the cover-fastenings give evidence of its antiquity.



ELKSTONE



HINTON-ON-THE-GREEN

SYDE

LITTLE BADMINTON

PEBWORTH

ABSON

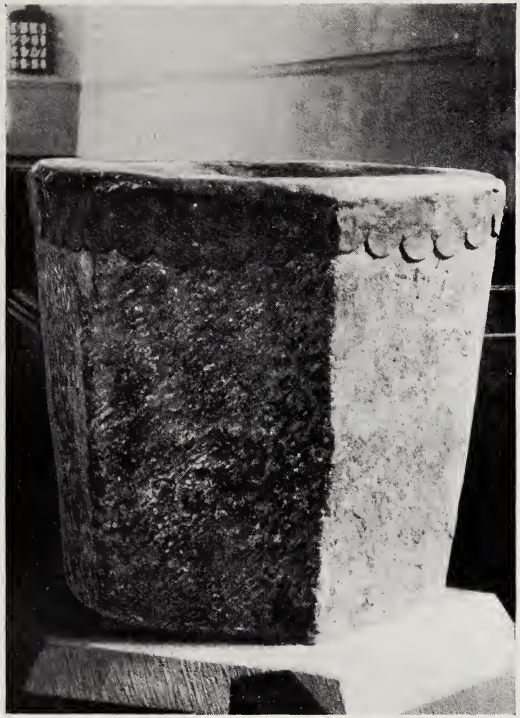
BRIMPSFIELD

MINSTERWORTH

STONE

AWRE

BUCKLAND



CLIFFORD CHAMBERS

MAISEMORE

HINTON-ON-THE GREEN (St. Peter).	Each face of octagonal bowl is adorned with quatrefoils having centres of four-leaf flowers. D. Ext. (bowl and chamfer)=1 ft. $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; D. Int.=1 ft. 1 in.; Diam. Int.=1 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; R.=$4\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins.	Each face (1 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. × 6 ins.) of octagonal pedestal possesses a trefoil-headed niche and chamfer is adorned with conventional foliage. Chamfered octagonal base is 11 ins. high.	——	The bowl has been repaired extensively as it had suffered serious damage.
ICOMB (St. Mary the Virgin).	Each face ($11\frac{1}{4}$ ins. × $11\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) of octagonal bowl decorated with plain quatrefoils and plain moulded chamfer ($11\frac{1}{4}$ ins. × 6 ins. × 5 ins.). D. Ext.=1 ft. 3 ins. D. Int.=10 ins.; Diam. Int. (top) 2 ft.; (bottom)=1 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; R.=$3\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 ins.	Each face (1 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. × 6 ins.) adorned with shallow trefoil-headed niches. Octagonal chamfered base=$6\frac{1}{4}$ ins. × $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins. × 7 ins.	——	The base probably belonged to an earlier font.

	Bowl.	Pedestal.	Reference.	Remarks.
Kemble (All Saints).	Plain octagonal bowl and chamfer. D. Int.=10 ins.; D. Ext. (bowl and chamfer)=1 ft. 8 ins.; Diam. Int.=1 ft. 8¼ ins.; R.=3 to 4 ins. Each panel=11 ins. × 9 ins.	Modern octagonal pedestal and step.	*Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc. Trans.* XVII, 32; Cox's *Gloucestershire*, 140.	Although the font is now quite plain it would, originally, be adorned with some beautiful scheme of colour decoration.
Little Badminton	Each face of octagonal bowl adorned with quatrefoils possessing centres of feathered cusps, roses and four-leaf flowers. The chamfer (5 ins. deep) is decorated with conventional foliage. Diam. Int.=1 ft. 9 ins.; D. Int. =1 ft.; D. Ext.=12½ ins.; R.=4 to 5 ins.	The original pedestal is lost, and the present octagonal pillar is modern work.	———	The font in this ancient XIII century church appears to have been removed to the garden of Badminton House when a new font was placed in the church. For a time it did duty as a flower vase but it is now preserved in a builder's shed where it is protected from the weather. The date of this font is c. 1450.

LYDNEY (St. Mary the Virgin).	Each face of octagonal bowl is adorned with a quatrefoil having a centre of a large rose. D. Ext. (bowl and plain chamfer) = 1 ft. 10 ins.; D. Int. = 1 ft. 1 in.; Diam. Int. (top) = 2 ft. (bottom) = 1 ft. 9½ ins.; R. = 4 to 5½ ins.	Each face of short octagonal pillar = 1 ft. × 8½ ins.; chamfered base = 9 ins. × 10 ins. × 4½ ins.; octagonal plinth 1 ft. 3 ins. × 6 ins.	Glynne's *Glouc. Church Notes*, 48.	The pillar has been retooled and the font is, probably, late XV century work. The carving is shallow.
MAISEMORE (St. Giles).	Deep octagonal bowl with shallow band, 3¾ inches and projecting ¾ of an inch. Each face = 2 ft. 1 in. × 11½ ins.; Diam. Int. (top) = 1 ft. 10½ ins. (bottom) = 1 ft. 7 ins.; D. Int. = 1 ft. 3½ ins.	Modern stem with corner cushions, base and step.	Glynne's *Glouc. Church Notes*, 106.	This large deep bowl was in all probability a Norman tub-shaped font cut into an octagon in the XV century. The rim has been repaired in many places.

	Bowl.	Pedestal.	Reference.	Remarks.
Mickleton (St. Lawrence).	A replica of the XV century font or a copy of the one at Buckland. It was carved in 1661.	Octagonal pedestal adorned on each face (1 ft. 1½ ins. × 5½ ins.) with a two light trefoil-headed window-tracery having band of cresting at bottom. Gabled corner buttresses (1ft. 0½ in. × 1 in. × 0¼ in.) rise from supports (2 ins. × 2 ins. × 1 in.) placed in chamfered base (7 ins. × 9 ins. × 9 ins.)	Glynne's *Glouc. Church Notes*, 92.	It seems probable that this font was originally a variant of the one at Buckland.
Minsterworth (St. George).	Octagonal font. Each face (12½ ins. × 7 ins.) adorned with two shallow quatrefoils in panels. The chamfer (1 ft. 2 ins. × 9½ ins. × 6 ins.) is decorated with pateræ of roses and conventional foliage.	The octagonal pedestal (1 ft. 6 ins. × 10 ins.) is adorned with panels containing three different designs (1 ft. 3½ ins. × 6 ins.) of Perpendicular window-tracery having corner gabled buttresses resting on supports in the base.	Glynne's *Glouc. Church Notes*, 72.	This font was probably constructed in the early years of the XV century and stood originally in the old church of Minsterworth. A matrix on the stem once held a brass indicating the water-level of a great flood of the River Severn.

PEBWORTH (St. Peter).	Octagonal bowl decorated on each face with rectangular panels (1 ft. 1 in. × 1 ft.) containing quatrefoils in circles possessing centres of four-leaf flowers etc. Plain chamfer with mouldings top and bottom (1 ft. × 8 ins. × 9 ins.); D. Int.=11½ ins.; Diam. Int.=1 ft. 10½ ins.. R.=4¾ to 6 ins. Each panel=13 ins. × 13 ins.	This font has no stem but the chamfered base (1 ft. × 8 ins. × 9 ins.) possesses a small sloping step for the priest to stand on while administering the rite of baptism. This step (1 ft. 4 ins. × 1 ft. 3 ins. × 8 ins. sloping to 6 ins.) is carved out of the same block of stone as the base and is coeval with the font.	———	This font appears never to have possessed a pedestal.
SNOWSHILL (St. Barnabas).	Each face (11½ ins. × 11½ ins.) of octagonal bowl decorated with quatrefoils possessing centres of four-leaf flowers placed in circles. Chamfer (9½ ins. × 7 ins. × 7 ins.) adorned with pateræ of conventional foliage. D. Int. =1 ft. 2 ins.; Diam. Int.=1 ft. 10 ins.; R. =2¼ to 3 ins.	Each face of octagonal stem (1 ft. 3 ins. × 6 ins.) is adorned with a trefoil-headed niche. Chamfered base=7¾ ins. × 9 ins. × 4 ins.	———	Church rebuilt in 1864; font is now the only object of antiquity except a medieval bell and a Jacobean pulpit.

	Bowl.	Pedestal.	Reference.	Remarks.
South Cerney (All Hallows).	Each face ($12\frac{1}{2}$ ins. × 12 ins.) of octagonal bowl adorned with quatrefoil in a circle. Plain octagonal chamfer=11 ins. × $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. × 6 ins. D. Int.=1 ft.; Diam. Int .1 ft. 9 ins.; R.=5 to 6 ins.	Each face of plain octagonal pedestal =6 ins. × $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins. moulded base=$5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. ×7 ins. ×$7\frac{1}{2}$ ins.	———	This font dates from about the middle of the XV century.
Stone (All Saints).	Octagonal bowl deeply moulded at top and bottom and adorned on each face (11 ins. × 7 ins.) with two quatrefoils in panels. The octagonal chamfer (9 ins. × $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. × $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) is plain. D. Int.=1 ft.; Diam. Int.=1 ft. $8\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; R. =$5\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 ins.	The octagonal stem (1 ft. 5 ins. × $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) has a moulded collar projecting 4 ins. and each face above and below is decorated with 2 quatrefoils. The octagonal moulded and chamfered base=$8\frac{1}{4}$ ins. × 11 ins. × 9 ins.	———	This font is ornamented with as many as 48 quatrefoils, one band round the bowl and two bands round the stem. The projecting rim and deep moulding on chamfer and base, as well as the collar in centre of pedestal relieve, to a great extent, what otherwise might have proved a monotonous design.

SWINDON (St. Lawrence).	Each face ($7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. × 11 ins.) of octagonal bowl decorated with a quatrefoil. Chamfer =11 ins. × 7 ins. × 8 ins.; D. Int.=11 ins.; Diam. Int. =1 ft. 8 ins.; R.=3 to 4 ins.	Octagonal stem carved with shallow trefoil-headed niche on each face (11 ins. × 7 ins.) Chamfered base=7 ins × 9 ins. ×7ins.) Modern step.	———	———
SYDE. (St. Mary the Virgin).	Octagonal bowl with rectangular panels containing quatrefoils with roses as centres. Three panels have never been completely carved. D Int.=$8\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; Diam. Int.=1 ft. 7 ins.; deeply moulded rim=$3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. Each face of moulded chamfer=10 ins. × $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins.	The stem is unusual and consists of five chamfered faces (1 ft. 2 ins. × 1 ft. 9 ins.) having deep gabled buttresses (11 ins.) in centre of each face and resting on projections in middle of deeply chamfered pentagonal base (1 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. × 1 ft. 11 ins. × 11 ins.) having moulded rim.	Daubeny's *Ancient Cotswold Churches*, 197.	The pedestal is somewhat clumsy and is reminiscent of the Brimpsfield font without possessing its elegance and beauty. A considerable portion of the lead lining is original and the over-lapping portion of the rim is pierced to make room for the staples of the cover fastening.

	Bowl.	Pedestal.	Reference.	Remarks.
Weston Birt (St. Katherine).	Each face ($10\frac{1}{2}$ ins. × 10 ins.) of octagonal bowl adorned with quatrefoils possessing centres of feathered cusps. Plain chamfer (10 ins. × $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. × $6\frac{1}{2}$ ins.); D. Int.=11 ins.; Diam. Int.=1 ft. 7 ins.; R.= 3 to 4 ins.	Each face of octagonal pillar ($11\frac{1}{2}$ ins. × 4 ins.) decorated with a trefoil-headed niche in a rectangular panel. The top of each has a moulding ($3\frac{3}{4}$ ins. × $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. × 4 ins.) uniting the pedestal with the chamfer of the bowl.	———	The date of this font is c. 1450.

WICKWAR (Holy Trinity).	Four faces (1 ft. 1½ ins. × 1 ft. 1 in.) of octagonal bowl adorned with quatrefoils, two with three rectangular panels and two with two trefoil headed niches. D. Ext.=1 ft. 1 in.; Diam. Int.=(top) 1 ft. 9 ins. (bottom)=1 ft. 7½ ins.; D. Int.=12½ ins.; R.=5 to 6½ ins. Each face of moulded chamfer=9 ins. × 1 ft. 1 in. × 9 ins.	Each face of octagonal stem=10 ins. × 7 ins. and octagonal chamfered plinth=6 ins. × 7 ins. × 9 ins.	Robinson's *West Country Churches*, IV, 112; Sketches by Thomas Pope, IV, 130 (Bristol Free Library).	———

A HITHERTO UNKNOWN ORIGINAL PRINT OF THE GREAT PLAN OF BRISTOL BY JACOBUS MILLERD, 1673.

By John E. Pritchard, F.S.A.[1]

(With Plate.)

IN my recent paper[2] upon the old Plans of Bristol I referred especially to the work of Jacobus Millerd, a great plan-maker, and a burgess of the City, who lived in the middle of the seventeenth century, but I had insufficient time to do justice to his work; I propose, therefore, to enter into fuller particulars this evening.

Though it is known from our records that Millerd was a mercer by trade, carrying on business in our midst, it has not always been realised that it was he who was possessed of such remarkable ability as a surveyor. He must have been a most industrious man, for the production of three plans, and a curiously interesting bird's eye view of the City, in the space of three or four years, was a gigantic effort even in those days, for each work shows more than ordinary talent, as well as great knowledge of the City; and we possess no other production comparable to this large plan.

It is necessary to realise in the first place that Millerd's work was entirely original, as he had no earlier plan of any real value to assist him.

It may be urged that there was William Smith's view of the City, finished more than a century earlier (1568)

[1] Read at the Bristol Evening Meeting, 20th March, 1922, with additions.
[2] Read at Bristol, 21st February, 1921.

which is quite true, but in this tiny plan, only six inches square, inscribed by him as

> " measured and laid in platforme, by me,
> W. Smith, being at Bristow the 30 and 31
> July, 1568."

there are no details to bring into comparison with Millerd's great undertaking; it is just a crude little work, and largely conjectural.

Now before coming to the subject of the evening, we must first of all take a glance at a view of the Millerd's plan of Bristol with which some of us are acquainted. It was engraved on copper, in four sections, and portrays the City with its growth added from time to time, from the original date in 1673 up to probably 1728 or 1730. That is to say the plan shows Bristol rather more than half a century after it was first issued.

In order to explain what I mean I will refer to the plans *seriatim* and name what I consider to be the different issues:

1673. The original issue, as now described, and of which a "reduced facsimile" is given with this paper.

1684. Second issue. This plan, of which a copy is in the City collection, came amongst others in a portfolio through the "Braikenridge bequest." It shows the Corne Market on the Key, and the date 1684, the year of its erection, may be seen engraved over the structure. It is only by this, and certain additional buildings added to the Plan that the date can be fixed.

Imprint. The same as the previous plan.

1696. Third issue. A copy of this plan was formerly in the possession of the late William George, and was purchased at his sale in 1900 for the City. This bears the date of the Corne Market just referred to, and the name and date " the Mint, 1696 " engraved on the ripple of the water, just below St. Peter's Hospital, indicating the

place where coinage was being struck at that period. Further additions in the City since the last issue have been engraved on this plan.

Imprint. Similar to last.

1728-1730. Fourth issue. Great additions to the buildings in the City, and in the bottom border these words added to the name of the Great House—"now 1710 Colstons Hospitall for Boys"; and the name "Colstons Boys Hospital" is engraved below the building at St. Augustine's and over the rigging of the ship.

Imprint. Sold by the Widow Penn in Wine Street, Bristol.[1]

In the year 1727 the Corne Market-house in Wine Street was taken down, consequently the words "in Wine Street, Bristoll" were deleted and in their place were substituted "as it stood before taken down."

May I now say that this is a *red letter day* in the annals of the evening meetings of this Society, for with much enthusiasm I am exhibiting to-night an original impression of the *first issue of the great plan of Bristol*, finished by Jacobus Millerd in 1673.

This work is eleven years earlier than any other such plan in the City's possession, and as far as I can learn from the fullest investigation and search, during the past quarter of a century, no other copy has been known to exist, and Latimer, when preparing his Annals, did not find any reference to one in the City records.

Apart from our own City the British Museum has only a mutilated copy, and the Bodleian Library possesses only the lower half of one: both being a later issue.

The discovery then, of this original plan, forms an extraordinarily interesting event in the history of the City.

[1] Widow Penn appears to have carried on, at the same address, the business of her husband, Joseph Penn, Bookseller, who printed the earliest "List of the Votes of the Freeholders and Freemen of Bristol," in 1722. His name is not known after this date.

By a most remarkable coincidence this copy had been sent across to England from a town in North Italy, with other prints, some years since, and had lain dormant until my paper was given last Spring, when the owner, in reading the newspaper report, bethought him of the roll, which he had only cursorily examined upon its arrival. He immediately informed me of his possession, and wished me to inspect a plan he had unrolled.

This was actually the very fine original print, now shown publicly for the first time, which I am extremely proud to announce has been acquired for the City Collection.

Members of this Society will, I am sure, instantly realise the exceptional interest in the "find," and appreciate its priceless value; for this plan gives the earliest and most comprehensive vision of seventeenth-century Bristol that we possess.

The published plan of the survey carried out by Jacobus Millerd is described as

> "AN EXACT DELINEATION OF THE FAMOUS CITTY OF BRISTOLL AND SUBURBS thereof, together with all the High wayes, through-fares, streets, lanes, and public passages, therein Contained, Composed by a Scale Ichnographically Described Engraven & Published by Ia: Millerd, Cittizen & Inhabitant there."

It is an interesting fact that the "Term catalogue"—a contemporary bibliography of the period (1668-1709) stated that this "exact Map was published in four sheets encompassed with a large "Firdor"[1] showing most of the principal Buildings[2] therein contained (never before extant)."[3]

[1] The Editor of the "New English Dictionary" is unable to offer any suggestion as to the meaning of this word.

[2] For list of these views see end of paper.

[3] Arber's reprint, 1903, i, 135.

The plan is emblazoned with the City Arms—by the Royal Arms, and by those of Queen Katherine of Braganza—and also by the Arms of the See, all finely proportioned.

Together with the border containing the views it measures 2 feet 9 inches wide, by 2 feet 6½ inches deep, and the imprint states that it was " Sould by Iohn Overton at the White horse without Newgate, London. And by Thomas Wall, Bookseller in Bristoll."

The dedication is in Latin, which translated, reads:

" TO the most worthy and distinguished men of his native city, the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs and Councillors of the City of Bristol, James Millerd in token of his loyalty offers and dedicates this Topography of that same City, such as it is."

My old friend, John Latimer, has recorded that

" A copy having been presented to the Corporation, to whom the engraving was dedicated, the Council, in May, 1673, after eulogising the plan as " the largest, exactest and handsomest that ever was yet drawn of this City," ordered that the author be thanked, and presented with a piece of plate of the value of £10. (We find from the City records that a silver tankard, which cost £10 7s. 8d. was given).

A similar gift of the value of £5 was voted to Millerd by the Society of Merchant Venturers.

Both these copies have disappeared long since.

The enterprising mercer subsequently published a third engraving—now extremely rare—a perspective view of the City, taken from the southern heights; which is supposed to have been also dedicated to the Corporation, but the Council showed no appreciation of the compliment, and in the extant impressions the place reserved for an inscription is veiled by curtains."

This great plan of Millerd pictures with evident exactness what the City was like in the twenty-fourth year of

the reign of Charles II, and the wonderful Burgess of Bristol, of whom we know so little, has given us a picture which not even Latimer's facile pen could truly visualise in like manner.

We should all like to see a portrait of this remarkable personality, but as there were no illustrated daily papers at that date, and no photography, we must be content in knowing that he was a Mercer by trade, being "admitted into the liberties of the Citty" on the 29th day of August, 1659. Furthermore Mr. J. J. Simpson tells me he was one of the first elected Guardians of the first Court of the Corporation of the Poor of this City. This was the 12th May, 1696, and on the 19th May, James Millerd was elected one of the Assistants of the Court. We can find out very little about his life and his general movements, so it is an interesting fact to record that he was actually sitting on the board with John Cary, Merchant in Bristol, author of that extraordinary "Essay on the state of England In Relation to its Trade, Its Poor, and its Taxes For carrying on the present War against France," the first public man who favoured the setting up of Workhouses for paupers. This was the first dated book printed at a permanently established press in Bristol, November, 1695—a little volume about $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches and of great rarity.

Then we are further told that at the first Court Millerd was one of those Guardians selected to "Consider of a Seal" proving that his reputation as a designer or draughtsman was well known. The seal in use to-day is of the same design as that submitted on that occasion, the original motto being:

HYEMIS MEMORES ÆSTATE LABORANT

which translated may be read:

"Labour in Summer in remembrance of Winter."

Now what are the special features of Millerd's original plan?

We must realise at first sight that it indicates the appearance of a very crowded City, which it doubtless was—the population at that time being probably over 20,000—with an acreage within the walls of only some twenty acres: but in contrast to the much later copies which have many additions, showing the growth of the City at various periods, the plan before us looks distinctly bare. This is, of course, partly due to there being fewer structures, but more particularly to the work of the engraver, as all the buildings shown on this early print were "single hatched." It is difficult to understand why the artist engaged on the later work resorted to the method of double-hatching, as it had the effect of blotting out the beauty of the mouldings and the details in the windows of the buildings surrounding the plan.

In the second place we have before us not only a plan of the City but a great combination picture giving us the front elevations of some of the principal buildings, many others being shown in perspective.

These delightful miniature views of the principal ancient buildings in the City which are figured in the large "Firdor"—so quaintly described in the advertisement of the time—constitute a most valuable topographical record, as they are actually the only views we possess of these structures at that early date.

The water-ways now attract our attention, and the meeting of the two rivers indicated on the south-west side as "Avon fluvius" and "Froome flu," which virtually form the peninsula in the valley upon which the City stands, are very clearly indicated, craft of varying sizes being shown in large numbers on the waters; and a vivid imagination has pictured the firing of a salute in the harbour, which has apparently disturbed a fine Severn salmon; whilst we are credited with using gun-control boats on the river which is shown to be infested with Sea lions, or probably dolphins—so well known to Bristolians.

The pastime of boating appears to be in full swing, whilst a saddled horse and its rider are taking "The Passage" across the Avon from Temple Back to St. Phillip's Marsh where probably the country seat was located.

It is well to notice Priors slip at Froome Bridge, near Froome gate, an important landing place, often mentioned.

Millerd's reference to outdoor life is peculiarly interesting, and when indicating the windings of the river Froome he was led to exclaim in the spirit of the six lines recorded under the words "Froome fluvius" on the north-east side of the plan, in Latin, which translated say :

> "Hither each man's pleasure draws him, young and old alike. Some demand the grass, some the water. Here slow and swift fish are caught with the rod, here the limbs of the weary are refreshed with gentle swimming. Here too the student wanders meditating the arts, and the happy lover walks with his darling."

Upon the "key" on the south-west side, a very important wharf thoroughfare of the City, we notice "ye Gibb" and "ye Wood Key" (the site of the Corne Market at a later date, 1684); also "The Tower" which was a great erection about 100 feet in circumference, which stood close to the site of the old draw bridge, though it is not actually shown. This tower was raised about a century earlier for the purpose of the defence of the City on the west side, but removed in 1722.

In the centre of the plan is depicted "The Bridge," spanning the river Avon dividing the two counties of Gloucester and Somerset. The view indicates the position of the fourteenth century Chapel of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary crossing the centre of the bridge, the upper part of which was destroyed by fire in 1646.

Then this plan clearly shows for the first time the remaining walls of the City at that date (1673)—all that were left following the sieges of the Civil Wars—and the

exact position of the gates, which are more clearly shown on this plan than on any other that we possess: but they are not all included in the list given by Millerd at the left hand bottom corner of the plan. These gates were very restricted in width, and it is difficult to conceive how a City, as large as Bristol was at that time, could carry on its business with such a cramped entrance as St. Nicholas (A)—for instance—the approach from the Somerset side.

Latimer tells us that it was a Treasurer of France, who, much puzzled by the churches standing on the old City walls, described this gate as a "grand arcade" sustaining a little church and forming an entrance to several fine streets. St. Nicholas's church was taken down, as we know, in 1762, when the gate was removed, the church being rebuilt. The Citizens then had a proper entrance to the heart of the City from the south.

It would appear to us that St. John's gate (I) and St. Leonard's gate (F) were equally inconvenient. St. Leonard's church "with the dark and tortuous passage" called Blind gate was demolished in 1771, and at that time Clare street was made.

All the other gates can be traced most clearly. How well do those of Redcliff and Temple and Lawford's gate stand out.

This being the first plan issued following the final destruction of the Castle in 1656, it indicates how rapid was the development of that site, which comprised an area of about six acres. The turn of the road from "Castle greene" into Castle street was first named "Tower str." on this plan. Why this name was ever changed— when it must have indicated the site of a part of the fortress—is difficult to imagine. The methods of officialdom are everlastingly a puzzle.

This plan was issued too, just before "Castle Bridge" (built 1676) was erected at the foot of Queen Street (which is shown but not marked) leading to the Castle

Mead or Queen's Orchard, situated just below Castle Street, the open space to the west of St. Philip's Church. This passage known as Queen Street was much needed and the Orchard ground was quickly covered with buildings, as the later plans prove to us.

With regard to the ecclesiastical edifices these are of course prominently shown and are carefully named by Millerd, who also quaintly described the individual attractions of the notable churches of the City in Latin. This summary translated into colloquial English, tells us

> There are churches whose rising roofs look to heaven and make the City beautiful with their towers—Redcliffe, St. Thomas, the Temple, St. Philip, and All Saints, St. Augustine, St. Nicholas, St. Mary, St. John, St. Ewen, St. Peter, St. Michael, Christ Church, St. Werburgh, St. Stephen, St. Leonard, and likewise St. James, the chapel of the Gaunts, and lastly the great Cathedral of the Bishop. Here men discuss the words of eternal salvation, and the teaching of Christ is unfolded to eager throngs. Each has its different boast of excellence, the one its structure, another its roof, another its lofty tower stretching to heaven, and others again their arched foundations. Some boast their shrine, others their windows, others their pavements. Many there are which take pride in their loud bells, another in that they are huge, another that they are lovely, another is triumphant that it surpasses all the rest in the number of its bells. But on whatever thing each separately makes its claim to honour, Redcliffe boasts that she is supreme in all together.

The setting of "The Cathedrall" and "The Bishops Pallace" is interesting in perspective, and the Norman gateway clearly stands forth; in close proximity some ten or twelve houses are noticeable, most of these appearing to have large gardens; whilst "The Bishops Park," "Channons Marsh," and "The Colledge Greene," almost surround the whole.

Just above the thoroughfare named "The way to the Hotwell" we notice the large tract of land marked "The Park," known at a later date as Bullock's Park, developed into Park Street and Berkeley Square in the eighteenth century, the sites of numerous aristocratic residences at that time; and also "The Royal Fort," the old home of the Tyndalls; the road which passes between these estates being styled "Ye way to Clifton and St. Vincents Rock."

The great thoroughfare out of the City on the north-west is named "The road to Aust Ferry & Wales," and this difficult track leads one to glance at the route the mail coaches had to travel in later days, from the centre of the City. Leaving the "Bush" in Corn Street, or the old "White Lion" in Broad Street, the mails passed down Broad Street through St. John's Gate and "Chrismas Street," turned up Horse Street and swinging round to the right had to climb the precipitous "Steep Street" (which is not marked). Turning into St. Michael's Hill they passed the upper end of "Queen St." (now Christmas Steps—which was steppered only in 1669) also the "White Lodg," and eventually mounted the upper and steeper part of St. Michael's Hill. This was the main road to Wales at that time, for the Drawbridge was not erected until 1718.

The remaining roads out of the City were principally on the level, and may easily be noticed—the Wells in the south corner, the Bath and the London roads on the west, and the Gloucester road on the north-east side; and the Thornbury way on the north.

Let us now glance at the large open space between the rivers on the west marked "The Marsh" now Queen's Square, but at the time outside the city wall. Up to the beginning of the seventeenth century this was a site for the deposit of city rubbish, but then the Corporation Committee woke up, took the Marsh in hand and laid out the land, eventually enclosing a site, according to the records,

"for Merchants and Gentlemen to recreate themselves on at bowles," and as a kind of recreation ground or Promenade, with rows of Trees, the outlay being recorded as having brought in a good rental. The grazing was let to butchers, and some animals are actually shown on the plan, so too are ships' anchors, and some ordnance.

The "compass" necessary to everyone is actually set in this open space, but the scale with quaint artistic embellishment is placed in a space on the left of the long description of the City.

The Marsh soon after developed into a building Estate, the first house being erected in 1701, which was the first one built of brick in Bristol.

A very important erection was the Custom House, shown in the border, which stood between "ye Marsh gate" and Back Str. gate.

It is interesting to notice that about the same time a "Bowling greene" existed at the Pithay, and this is marked. Looking again at the north-west corner we must not overlook Brandon Hill, Millerd being the first to record that "The Hill is a publick convenience to ye Cittie for ye use of drying cloaths," and in Latin describes it "Like snow this hill is seen white at sunrise, but at night's approach it becometh green."

The houses erected during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were, as we know, built chiefly of wood and plaster, with gable-end roofs and overhanging frontages, but the plan does not differentiate very clearly, as no architectural detail was possible, owing to the crowding of the drawing. There were many houses of an earlier type built of stone, forming the homes of rich Burgesses of the City, which then existed and can almost be identified—such as the great Norman House in Small Street, considerably altered and largely re-built in the fifteenth century; Sir Humphrey Hook's house on the Quay, Spicer's Hall on the Welsh Back, Canynge's House

in Redclyffe Street, Creswick's mansion in Corn Street, St. Peter's Hospital—the great Elizabethan house of Sir John Young—as well as the house in which we are assembled, most clearly marked "Red Lodg" for the first time on a plan of the City.

And we find a "White Lodg" also marked standing close by. Latimer says there were two houses of this name, and quite close together.

These are days of water scarcity with us, but it appears that Bristol was amply supplied in Millerd's time judging by the various conduits marked by him—notice particularly those at All Saints and St. John's—and "A Conduit Head" marked in the Park at the north-west corner which supplied the latter.

It is interesting also to notice the "Corne Market-House" in Wine Street, erected by the Corporation in 1623. By admeasurement 80 feet long by 12 feet wide, it can well be imagined that owing to the narrowness of the street at that time, it was a perpetual nuisance, consequently the local powers ordered its demolition in 1727.

Millerd thought this structure was worthy of particular notice for he has given a good view of it in the margin of the plan; and in later issues its removal was indicated.

He of course marks the position of the High Cross and has placed a sketch in the border; the crosses of St. Peter and Temple are also clearly shown.

The gifted surveyor did not omit to mark "ye Library" in King Street—Robert Redwood's great gift of a "lodge near the Marsh." The building was apparently on the wall, and in the midst of gardens at that time had been repaired and enlarged after 1634. It was rebuilt in 1740, and was used as the City Library up to 1907. Safe and sound as a Library for over 300 years it was nearly destroyed by fire some weeks since, through its unfortunate use as a Government office!

So detailed was Millerd's work that we find "The Meeting houses" of the Quakers which were opened in 1670, indicated on the plan; and away to the north-east is marked the "Pest House," built in a field at the end of Newfoundland Lane; this was erected in 1665 on land known as "Forlorn Hope."

Another interesting feature was of course the entire absence of glass houses and pottery kilns, which were not erected until a later period: but if you will look at the St. Phillips Marsh site you will find that lime and brick kilns were in full working. Notice too, a little colony between these two sites styled "Cold harbor," afterwards the site of a glass house, doubtless a very wet and cold position, whence much clay was dug. The name disappeared the following century.

One other erection worth notice, marked "Babers Tower," and situated in the suburbs, just below Lawford's Gate, was of course the gunpowder mill of William Baber, who had been imprisoned and fined in the reign of Charles I and otherwise shamefully treated. It is not known when it was erected, but it was removed to Bitton by William Champion who then owned it and erected it there about 1743.

There is no time to describe the views in the "Firdor," in detail, but the view of "The south prospect of part of the Castle of Bristoll" is of very special interest. This bears the date of demolition 1656, and as the plan was issued only seventeen years later it is safe to assume—there can be no doubt—that Millerd must have drawn the picture himself. This fact is of much value as no other view of any part of the Castle exists, for Skelton in his *Antiquities of Bristol*, published in 1825, plate xv, gives a larger view of this same tower recording that it was taken from a drawing in the Bodleian Library. It will interest you to know that the drawing referred to was done from the miniature view in the border of Millerd's plan by

James Stewart, Junr., who dated his drawing, June 6, 1745. This information was kindly given to me by Mr. Falconer Madan, when Librarian of the Bodleian, thus clearing up the mystery always surrounding the supposed original drawing in that collection.

Barrett in his *History of Bristol*, chapter IV, refers to Millerd's great plan, amongst others, in a most casual way, as the work of James Millar, and says he shall close the chapter with the following general description of the City in Latin verse.

May I point out that this was not from his own pen, but was copied from the quaint description to be found on Millerd's great plan, and no kind of acknowledgment was made.

I will read you this "Epic" translated into English[1]—possibly for the first time:

Bristolia.

"The city is girt with walls which are themselves surrounded by deep trenches; and the trenches are filled with the frolicsome wave. And around these stretch green grassy meadows and wide fields laden with Ceres' gifts. Villages are dotted over the countryside, which is green with woods and neither broken by rocks nor foul with marshes. In the midst lies a famous city with a double harbour, raising to the stars its towered head; in its pride it stretches forth bridges over twain rivers and with huge arches spans the mighty streams. From here set forth the beaked ships with swelling sail, hither returns again the warrior laden with honour; hither the east, hither the west brings its jewels, the whole world its wealth over sea and land; wherefore it is a mart, to which all skilled in trafficking flock to buy from all sides. And when they return to their native land, to all they tell of the wondrous city which hath no mean honour, and

[1] This and the other Latin descriptions of Millerd have been most kindly translated literally for me by Mr. R. G. Austin, of Balliol College.

their eyes are scarce sated with marvelling at all things, and they cry "The glory of Bristol must not be kept silent." For the city is thronged with folk and broad withal; it is loyal and lovely, delightful and distinguished; it smiles with the kindliness of age. Its laws it keeps, its God it worships, its king it loves; it protects its neighbours, crime it hateth, and peace it hath."

Besides this word-picture of the "glory of Bristol" Millerd has given us on the plan in English a long and most interesting topographical account of the City and surroundings, ending up with a request

To the Reader

in Latin, which translated reads thus:

"What my leisure hours and dreams wished for, here thou hast the fruits of Time, fair reader. Let the sage be sparing in blaming the author, and receive his work with kindly and gentle heart.

Where it was my care that the famed splendour of the city should flourish anew and its glorious honour become old with time, let the fame of the City depicted in bronze be more lasting than bronze, and, I pray, more widely spread throughout the world.

I.M."

I feel sure this is the wish of every member of the Society.

LIST OF VIEWS IN "FIRDOR."

(See plate).

TOP BORDER.

The southeast Prospect of Bristoll
The Merchants Hall in Bristoll
The Guild Hall in Broad Street, Bristoll
The south prospect of the Tolzey of Bristoll
Part of All-Saints Tower
The north prospect of ye Tolzey of Bristoll and All Saints Conduit adioyneing.

The south prospect of Bathe.

LEFT HAND BORDER.

The south prospect of a part of St. Vincents rock & ye Hot well neer Bristoll

Part of Christ Church

The south prospect of ye High Cross in Bristoll

The South prospect of St. Steevens Church in Bristoll

Bristoll Bridg over Avon flu:

RIGHT HAND BORDER.

A prospect of ye great house in Redcliff str. taken from ye Back of Bristoll

The entrance of ye once famous Monastry of St. Augustine in Bristoll

The Custom-house upon ye Back of Bristoll

The south prospect of part of the Castle of Bristoll

BOTTOM BORDER.

The Cathedral Church of Bristoll

The Corne Market-house in Wine Street, Bristoll

Part of Somersett-sheire

A Grounde platt of the Royall-Fort on ye North west side of Bristoll: built by his High^{s}: P: Rupert. An: Dom: 1644.

The North prospect of ye Great House on St. Aūstines back in Bristoll

The north prospect of ye parrish Church of St. Marie Redcliffe in Bristoll

ADDENDUM.

Since this paper was read I have had the great advantage of exhibiting the plan to Mr. Thomas Chubb,[1] Keeper of the Maps at the British Museum, who was greatly interested in the "find."

As the plan was originally mounted on a coarse type of paper and had undoubtedly been rolled up for a long

[1] Retired from office at end of 1922.

period of years, it showed indications of cracking on the surface when an attempt was made to flatten it.

At my suggestion Mr. Chubb kindly undertook to have it re-mounted on cartridge paper with a linen back, which has been carried out with a most satisfactory result.

In returning the plan, Mr. Chubb writing from the Map Room said:

"This must, I think be one of the most valuable documents you have in your public archives.

So far as I know there is no plan of any other town in the Country, at that period, on the same scale and with similar interesting and valuable pictures in the margin.

I consider it of the greatest value, and everything possible should be done for its preservation in order that it may be handed down to posterity in its present good condition."

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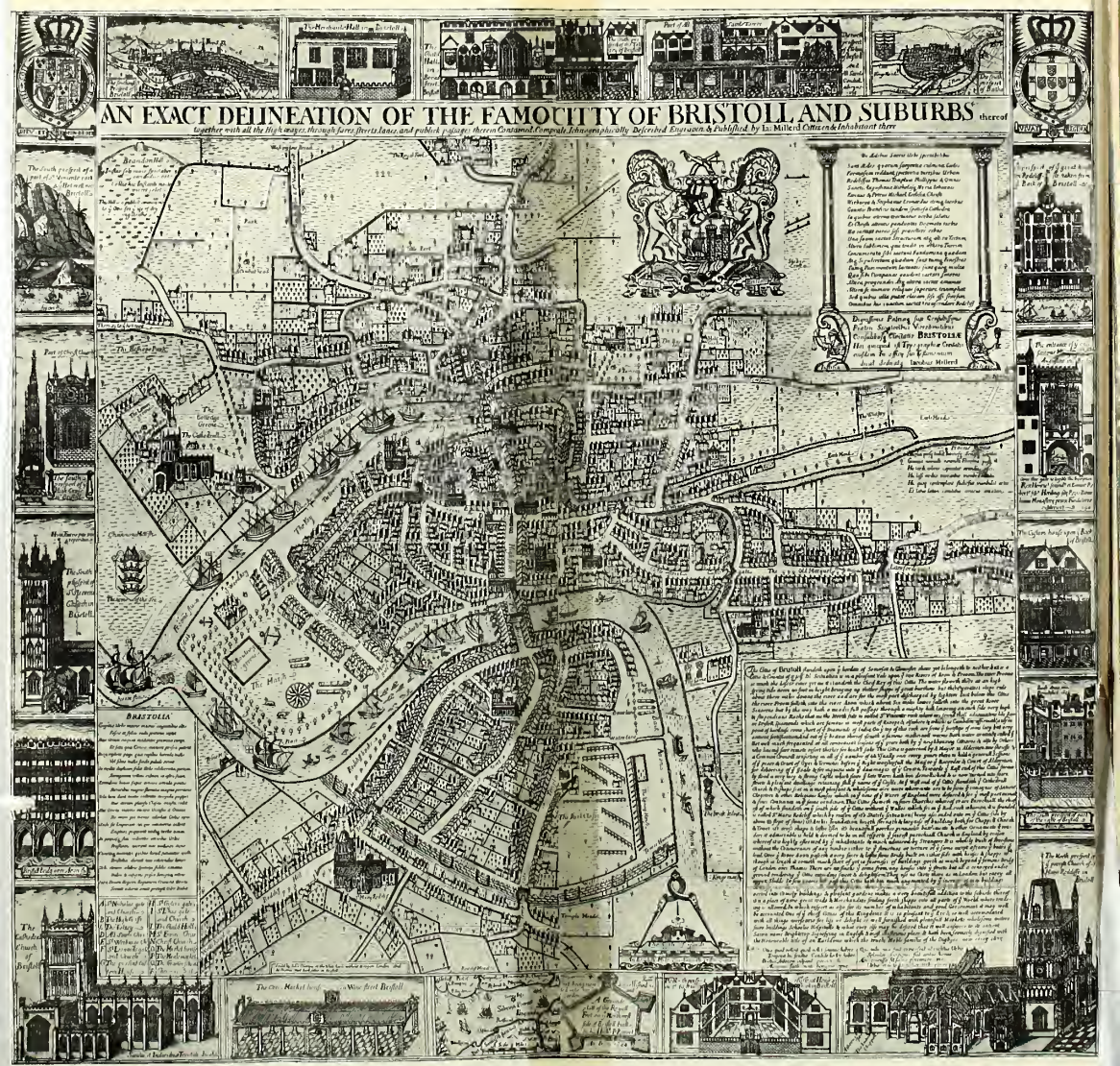


REDUCED FACSIMILE OF JACOBUS MILLERD'S PLAN STOL. 1673.

Facing Page 220.

AN EXACT DELIN
together with all the High
DIEV ET MON DROIT
REGINA
The southeast Prospect of Bristoll
The South prospect of a part of St Vincents rock & ye Hot well neer Bristoll
Brandon Hill
The Park
A Conduit head
Thereby to ye hot well
The Bishops Park
Part of Christ Church
The Colledge Greene
The Cathedrall
The entrance of ye once famous Augustine in Bristoll
The south prospect of ye High Cross in Bristoll

STANLEY ST. LEONARDS.

[Notes supplementary to a paper published in *Archæologia*, vol. 71, pp. 199-226, 1922].

By Rev. Charles Swynnerton, F.S.A.

(With Plate).

The Place.

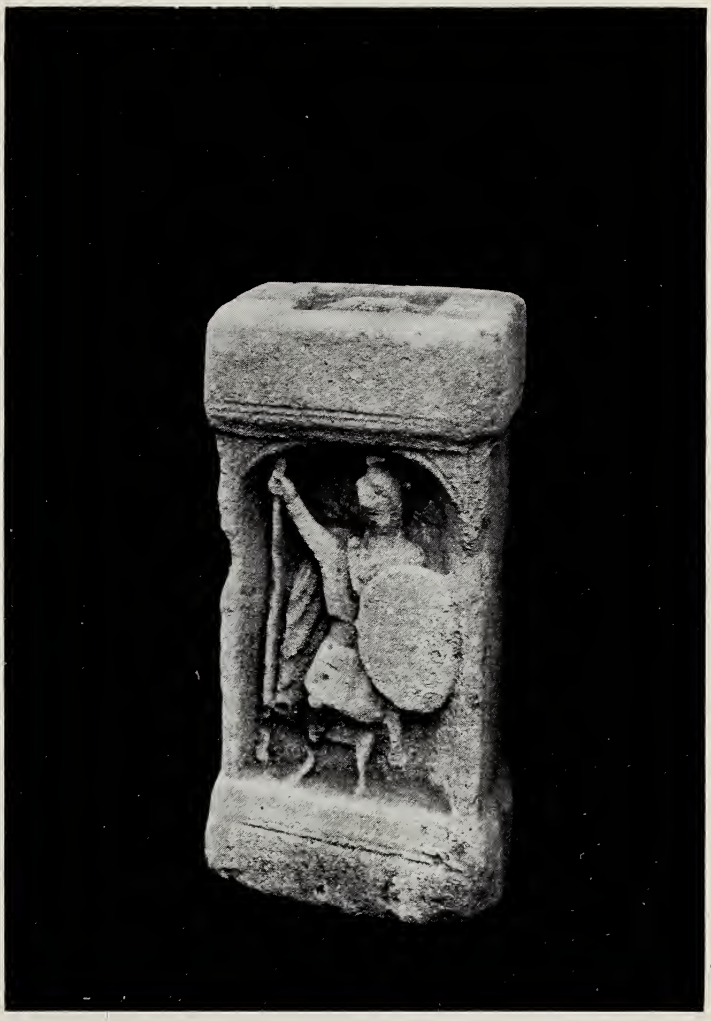
THE village of Stanley St. Leonards is situated above the Severn valley on the undulating slopes and terraces which decline on the western side of a spur of the Cotswolds, a mile east from that of Frocester, a mile and a half south from Stonehouse, and four miles south west from Stroud. It lies somewhat apart by itself, away from main roads. Its physical configuration is such that it naturally divides itself into two parts by reason of a brook which runs through a wooded glen to its boundary westward, where it discharges itself into the river Frome. This glen starts in an open depression of some extent which indeed forms part of the village itself, and lies immediately below the site of church and priory. It is named Seven Waters from seven pools or dams which anciently existed there, and were fed by two little streams, the one (now diverted) brought along from Frocester, and the other flowing from springs on the hill-side above the site of the priory. Of these seven waters, three only now remain—the fulling mills which they served having ceased to exist and of these three the largest is the old fish-pond, where venerable carp are said to lurk, and which is in close touch of the precincts of the priory towards the west. All this land is sweet to look upon, sweet the air, bright the aspect, rich the soil, well watered, well wooded, the scenery varied and pleasing. A fairer region, a spot more sequestered, a site more peaceful for a

community of religious men, or for a feudal pioneer, especially in the turbulent days when Saxons and Danes contended for mastery, or when the Normans came over, can scarcely be imagined.

I do not describe church and priory because that has already been done. Other points of interest must engage our attention now.

By the side of the fish-pond, to the west thereof, are to be seen the well-defined evidences of a moated homestead, about which more anon. In the same field, which is a large one, and the centre of which is marked by an ancient oak in the last stages of decay, believed to be one thousand years old—or if not exactly in the same field, immediately beyond its western boundary—is to be seen a bold bluff, rounded and steep, a natural redoubt, rising out of the angle formed by a tributary brook and the dry course of the stream which once flowed from Frocester. On this bluff survive evidences of still more ancient earth-works. These have been pronounced by Canon Bazeley, to whom I showed them, to be the remains of an ancient village fortress of Roman days also awaiting examination. Many similar places of refuge, he informed me, made in times when the neighbouring seas were infested with Irish pirates, are to be found on both sides of the lower Severn. If so, the spot speaks of the centuries during which the Romans held in force this beautiful vale of the west. It reminds us that Frocester hard by is Roman in name. We remember too, that at King's Stanley on the opposite side of Leonard Stanley, some labourers digging the foundation of a cellar, in the eighteenth century, vaguely located as being two miles from a fortified camp, perhaps the so-called British camp in Selsley, a member of King's Stanley, found half a yard under the surface six Roman altars, of which discovery Lysons gives the date 1781. Drawings of four of them were published January 1st, 1792, by T. Cadell.[1] With them was found also a

[1] I am indebted to our learned antiquary Canon Bazeley for this reference.



Roman Altar found at King's Stanley, now in the possession of Mrs. A. Playne, Minchinhampton.

Facing Page 222.

bronze coin of Alexander Severus (A.D. 222-235). These altars were not all of the same dimensions, varying from 1′ 6″ to 3′ 6″ in height. The largest showed a figure of the goddess Hygiea, daughter of Aesculapius.[1] She is represented refreshing from a wine-cup the Aesculapian serpent which coils around an altar of the god of medicine while her right arm supports an attenuated cornucopia. The rest were votive altars to the god Mars whose figure in native oolite is well carved (for I have seen two of them) in full Greek panoply of war. His plumed helmet, his long lance held upright in his right hand, and his great round shield with large central boss pendant on his left arm, would suggest Athene Promachos; if the martial cloak and the short tunic did not proclaim the god. It is of the art of the later Empire, when Romans affected more and more a desire to represent their patron war-god, the reputed father of their founder Romulus, as identical with the Greek Ares. (Plate).

I suggest that these votive altars had been deliberately put out of sight even before Constantine the Great (A.D. 306-337), who was born at York, had established the Christian religion throughout his dominions, and I suggest that they belonged to the hallowed precincts of a local temple of Mars, which would have stood at or near the spot in which they were found buried. As I have passed along the road through King's Stanley, the thought has occurred to me that the eminence over the vale, which the present parish church of King's Stanley now occupies, may perchance have been the site of some such temple. Cellars are rare in village houses. Now the Elizabethan "Stanley House" next to the churchyard underwent additions in the 18th century. The façade cannot be earlier. One or more of its cellars may then have been excavated, and its situation would be about two miles from the afore-mentioned fortified hill. Moreover, as Mr.

[1] With this view Canon Bazeley concurs.

Stanley Marling informs me, there may be seen, built into the lower portion of the church-tower, a certain number of Roman bricks. And lastly has it not been proved that the nave of St. Mary de Lode in this same county of Gloucester occupies the site of a Roman temple.[1]

However this may be, we may well believe that Leonard Stanley, with King's Stanley and Frocester, formed part of the demesne land (if I may use the term) of Roman Woodchester which touches King's Stanley on the south-west. It was there that the famous and magnificent Roman mosaic floor was discovered late in the 17th century, as Parsons, a learned antiquary of that time, records, and which Lysons, writing in 1797, both describes and delineates. The grandeur of that survival from imperial days, the steep escarpment of the terrace above the stream, on which the great villa stood, and the plentiful supply of pure water issuing from perennial springs on the ascending slopes above, testify to the importance of the place, and justify the opinion that here we have the capital residence of the *Praeses* or Governor of the Province.[1]

[1] It was common custom to use the sites of heathen fanes for Christian churches. Even so late as the 16th century the Portuguese built on the sites of Hindu temples and of Mohammedan Mosques, at Goa for instance, where the great cathedral of St. Catherine stands on the site of a mosque, and where the monastic church of St. Cajetan covers the site of a temple.

[1] The reader may find interesting Parsons's account of the Woodchester pavement written towards the end of the 17th century. It is as follows:

"Mosaic work. The pavement is most famous 3 or 4 feet underground, chequer work with variety of colours and antique shapes of birds, beasts and flowers all in small stones a little bigger than Dyes. Underneath this pavement the Min^r and Clark both told me there were hollow walled Canilys but whether to drayne the water or other purposes could not be determined. They supposed this was the Pavilion of a Roman Emperor for there are just outside the Churchyard some places still seen to be the foundations of numerous buildings, and they thought that wheresoever any Roman Emperors pitched their seats they had this mosaic chequered work which they left behind them as a testimony of their stations there." *Parsons' MSS.* Bodleian Library, p. 254. The "Canalys" were no doubt the hypocaust. Richard Parsons was born in 1643, became a fellow of New College in 1657, was made Chancellor of the Diocese of Gloucester in June, 1677, died 12th June, 1711, and was buried in Gloucester Cathedral (*ibid.* in a *MS.* introduction).

Domesday tells us that King's Stanley (under the name Stantone) was held of king Edward the Confessor (*de Rege*) by a tenant named Tovi. It was thus part of the king's demesne, probably let to the tenant and his heirs on farm. The names of places in the great Survey, though wonderfully correct as a rule, are not always faultless. The Saxon name in this instance was certainly Stanley as subsequent evidence shows. Hence in the Confessor's time and perhaps long before, as there were two adjoining Stanleys, it must have become necessary to distinguish them. The popular voice would evade ambiguity by calling the Crown manor King's Stanley, leaving the name "Stanley" in all its simplicity to its neighbour, for which reason I cannot agree with the Rev. C. S. Taylor, our greatest authority on the Domesday Survey of Gloucestershire, in his view that the title "King's" came in only when the manor became forfeit for a time to the Crown in 1095 owing to the rebellion of the King's Norman tenant Turstin. Fosbrooke indeed asserts that it was the King's in Mercian times, and that the Mercian Kings had a mansion there. Moreover he speaks of a fortified hill in King's Stanley called in his day King's Hill.[1] This may have been the so-called British camp already mentioned in Selsley, a member of King's Stanley; but I do not, so far, trace the name now.

It is not improbable that the two vills or manors were originally one and the same manor, for these reasons:—

1. The actual villages lie close together, so close as to be lying, so to speak, in each other's arms, the last cottages of King's Stanley standing not more than 200 yards from the first in Leonard Stanley. There is not a single mile from centre to centre.

2. The name Stanley, common to both of them, suggests as much.

[1] Fosbrooke's *Gloucestershire*, i, 311.

3. Though the words " de Rege " do not appear in the Domesday record of Leonard Stanley, yet I find that in 1160-62 Roger de Berkelai owed the King 5 marks *pro firma de Stanleye*, which looks like a hint that Leonard Stanley had been alienated, but not wholly alienated, in or before the reign of Edward the Confessor.

4. But there is another piece of evidence still more interesting. Passing through the midst of Leonard Stanley (as I have before remarked) there is a wooded glen. In a charter of Henry I, which could hardly have passed later than 1125, concerning the possessions of the Church of St. Leonard of Stanley mention was made of two groves, the one on the right bank and the other on the left bank of the stream, and the charter gave their names, namely, King's Grove and Home Grove (*Kyngesgrave et Hamegrave*). These two names were evidently place-names at that early period, well established in the locality, and, in my opinion, they speak of a time long before when the two Stanleys were the one royal possession—one and undivided.[1]

But if this was the case, by the time of Edward the Confessor (Leonard) Stanley had been alienated from the rest of the royal manor. Domesday intimates to us that at that time, while King's Stanley was, as already mentioned, held by Tovi, a thane, a man of considerable possessions, (Leonard) Stanley, assessed at $4\frac{1}{2}$ hides, had apparently been granted, perhaps by the Confessor himself (1042-1066), perhaps by a predecessor, to a thane whose name is unknown. If so, it may have been he—and the style agrees—who founded the little Saxon church of St. Leonard still standing. Nor was it altogether an unknown thing for the owner or tenant of an estate lying quite apart to build and endow a church for his own people. Such a church would, as it were auto-

[1] For the quoted confirmation of this charter see *Archæologia*, vol. 71, p. 204. The glen in question is still known as " The Grove."

matically, become recognised as time went on, as that of a separate independent parish, in size and extent precisely that of the manor itself, no more and no less. And the right of advowson would lie with the founder and his heirs by a three-fold claim in accordance with the ancient acknowledged rule:—

Would'st thou enjoy a patron's right,
Endow, or build, or find a site.

Thus in this case, the parish would come after the manor, emphasizing still further the necessity for a distinction in the names of (King's) Stanley on the one side and (Leonard) Stanley on the other.

From Domesday Book we learn that in the Confessor's reign, or at any rate on the day on which he was alive and dead, Stanley St. Leonard's was held as two manors. By this we must understand that, in the language of later times, it was then a divided manor. The tenants, or owners, were two Saxons, by name Godric and Wisnod. They were probably two brothers between whom their father had divided the land at his death, and the natural boundary between their two estates must have been the stream and glen already referred to. And it is to be noted that it was by no means an uncommon custom in that age for two brothers to share the family inheritance.

The practice perhaps was more Norman than English, but Normans were in England before the Conquest, and for that matter Norman customs too. This particular custom was known as *Paragium*, so called because the second son was placed *in pari casu* with the elder. Several examples of it are given on page 19 of vol. vi (N.S.), pt. 2 of *Staff. Hist. Collections*. The most notable example, however, is of course, that of the Conqueror himself, who bequeathed Normandy to his eldest son, and England to his next younger son, while Henry went without.

But Godric we find also held Wapley (20 miles S. by W.

of Stroud) if not of his own inheritance, then probably in right of his wife. And here unexpected light is thrown on a very interesting circumstance. Godric in the Confessor's time (1066) owned HALF THE MANOR OF STANLEY, and the whole manor of WAPLEY. Twenty years later in the Conqueror's time (1086) we find WAPLEY and the WHOLE manor of STANLEY held by Ralf, brother of Roger de Berkeley I. The inference seems irresistible. These entries in Domesday tell us (1) that Godric of Wapley and Godric of (Leonard) Stanley were one and the same Godric; (2) that Wisnod died without issue; (3) that Godric left a sister or a daughter and heir; and (4) that Ralf de Berkeley, with the King's leave, married her. The point is not only interesting, it is important. It reveals to us the true descent of the manor and the advowson of (Leonard) Stanley, bridging the gulf in the transitional period between Saxon and Norman domination, and moreover, from the evidence thus presented emerges the obvious deduction that Godric and Wisnod were indeed brothers. It follows, if I am not too sanguine in my conclusions, that here we have quite gladsome examples of those hidden surprises with which our ancient records abound, and, held as it were in solution, are ready to crystallize for the patient enquirer at any moment.

It is perhaps unnecessary to add that Ralf de Berkeley, dying apparently without issue, left Stanley with the Saxon church of St. Leonard and the advowson thereof, to his nephew Roger de Berkeley II, the founder of the Priory of Austin Canons.

But more remains. We know or we can reasonably show, exactly where in Leonard Stanley, these two Saxon brothers respectively sat in their cosy ingle nooks. We have already mentioned the moated site of an ancient habitation on the western side of the old monastic fishpond. That was undoubtedly one of the two sites, and it only awaits spade-examination under the direction of a skilled excavator to render up its secrets.

As regards the other site, it will be remembered that of the two groves on either side of the brook in the glen which in 1066 divided the two estates, the one on the left bank was known in early Norman times as the Home Grove. That name indicates a mansion situated, if not within the grove, at least on the rising ground above and beyond it. And indeed that ground is known as the Home Field to this day. Moreover on that ground may be seen and traced in mound and hollow and bank, ample evidence that there stood there an important homestead, not only in Plantagenet times when the manor of Stanley was assigned as dower-land to the Dursley-Berkeley dowagers, but also in Norman and Saxon times. And this evidence is helped by the existing tradition that there, in that very field, stood an ancient manor-house, long ago pulled down.

Note on the descent of the Manor of Stanley St. Leonards.

It has already been noted that the manor was a knight's fee in the beginning (1086). In *Liber Niger*, 1166, its extent in that respect was still the same, and it remained so until the time of King John. But if we are to believe *Kirby's Quest*, and there is no reason for the contrary, in 1284 this manor instead of being held as a full knight's fee, was held of the King *in capite* as merely one fourth part of a knight's fee. Sometime in the 13th century therefore, to be exact before the date 1284, the Berkeleys of Dursley appear to have lost three fourths of their land in their manor of Stanley. And indeed the *Testa de Nevill* bears eloquent witness to loss and disaster, recording the whole tenure of these Berkeleys early in Henry III to be only 6½ knight's fees instead of 7½ as recorded in 1166 (*Liber Niger*). The explanation may lie in this fact. Roger de Berkeley V is found by the Pipe Rolls of King John to have incurred heavy debts to the

Jews of Bristol, compelling him to mortgage to them his manor of Stanley and other lands as well. Some years appear to have elapsed before he got clear, and I think he only got clear by selling the major part of his property in Stanley.[1]

But though he parted apparently with much of his land there, he did not alienate the rest, or part with the royalties or the lordship of the manor itself or the advowson of the church therein. They all remained to him and his descendants in the right line until the reign of Henry IV, when they passed through the female line first to the Cantelupes, then to the Chedders, and then to the Wekyses or Weekeses. It was perhaps Thomas Wekys, holding in right of his wife the great-granddaughter of Nicholas de Berkeley, the last of the Berkeleys of Dursley, who parted with the advowson of the living to the Abbots of Gloucester. He died seized of the manor in 13 Edward IV, 1473 (*Atkyns*). In 28 Henry VIII, Nicholas Wekys is Lord of Stanley, as the last Abbot's indenture to Sir William Kingston indicates. I cannot explain why, later on in the century, Queen Elizabeth appears as Lady of this Manor. (*Augmentation Court Grants*, P.R.O.) It is possible—a point still to be determined—that Anthony, son and heir of Sir William Kingston, had acquired the manor of Stanley, and that it was forfeited to the State when he died, an arrested traitor, in April, 1556. It is on record that "certain parcels of the manor, of late possessed" by him, were escheated soon after that date.

From the Crown the manor of Stanley, with full possession and all manorial rights, passed by purchase to John Eldrede and William Whitmore in 8 James I, as the following evidence testifies:—

In the Great Roll of 8 James I (1611), under Gloucester at the Public Record Office, we find that on the 10th of

[1] See also Sir Henry Barkly's *Testa de Nevill*. *Transactions*, *Bristol and Glos. A. S.*, xii, 253.

March, John Eldrede of St. Michael "Bassinghale," London, Armiger, and William Whitmore of the parish of St. Edward, Lombard Street, London, entered into an obligation to pay to the lord the King "that now is" nine hundred pounds of good and lawful money of England as the price or value of everything and of every kind growing and existing upon the manor of Stanley St. Leonard in the County of Gloucester of the annual value of £20 4s. 4d., with parcels of land late in the hands of the Sheriff Nicholas Poyntz, kt.[1] "On the 3rd March in the 9th year (1612) of the now King James" the two contractors paid into the treasury the balance still due from them, namely, £50 8s. 4d., *Et quieti sunt*—and they are quit. (Reference as above).

In this transaction I imagine John Eldrede was simply the recognitor or guarantee for the principal, William Whitmore, or, if not, that he parted with his share immediately, because in the next year, 1612, William Whitmore is certified as being lord of the manor of Stanley (*Atkyns*). Thus also in November 15 James I, 1617, we find William Whitmore of London, esquire, granting to William Selwyn, some Honeywell lands in Leonard Stanley, which lands Queen Elizabeth had granted in June, 1594, to William Nicholson, deceased, Rent 40s. "Selwyn to have hedgeboote, fyreboote, ploughboote and cartboote, and to entertain the manor-bailiff, his man and his horse, for 2 nights and 1 day twice a year, when the manor-court was being held." (*Ex infra* the Jones' Trustees).

Again, in the assessment lists of the Overseers of the Poor, which at Leonard Stanley begin soon after this time, we find William Whitmore designated as "Squire,"

[1] Nicholas Poyntz of an ancient Norman house, was son of another Nicholas, and grandson of Anthony Poyntz, *temp.* Hen. VIII. The Shrievalty of co. Glos. had become almost hereditary in the family. I am indebted to Mr. F. W. Woollcombe Boyce for much information concerning them.

while William Sandford the impropriator of the Priory property figures merely as "Gent."

Sir William Whitmore came of old Staffordshire stock, being a scion of the Whitmores of Whitmore. Like many other rich merchants of that age he was a picker-up of unconsidered trifles in the form of encumbered or escheated country-manors, because besides Leonard Stanley, he purchased Apley in co. Salop, while Sir George his brother acquired Lower Slaughter from James I, a manor subsequently owned by the Stanley Whitmores (*Harl. Pubns.* and Atykns). Many years after, on December 12th, 1738, William Whitmore, direct descendant of his, sold his interest in the manor of Leonard Stanley with all its rights to Robert Sandford of Stratton and of Leonard Stanley, the impropriator of the Priory lands, whose representative at this present time (1923) is Miss Katherine Denison Jones of the Grange, Leonard Stanley, which lady is therefore both squire and impropriatrix. (Deed *penes* the Jones' Trustees).

LEONARD STANLEY AND EASTON GREY IN CO. WILTS.

In 1086 it was held by Roger de Berkeley I. The land was three carucates. There was a mill there rendering 6 shillings. Worth 30 shillings in the Confessor's time, its value had risen to 40 shillings in 1086.

Land and church were given to the Priory of Leonard Stanley by the founder, and his gift was confirmed by Henry I, Henry II, Henry III, and finally by Henry VI. It was forfeited at the Dissolution, and in 1541 a grant of it was made to John Ady.

That this church, though not actually part and parcel of the Honour of Berkeley, should have passed to the Priory of Leonard Stanley, raises an interesting question.

[1] *Note.* The Augmentation Court Records show that Sir Anthony Kingston possessed land in Stanley over and above the Priory land. He had perhaps purchased not the Lordship but certain "parcels of the manor"—it is a point which the short time at my disposal for the preparation of this paper precludes me from determining.

The truth seems to be that it was really restored to God, as was also the land of Bernard the Priest. It was apparently once church-land, land of which the church had been despoiled in the reign of Edward the Confessor, and the act of expiation which eventuated in the founding of the Priory of St. Leonard and the pious surrender of the 60s. tithe-rent from Berkeley Harness with much besides, included also the remission of Estone, as it is named in Domesday. In short it appears to have belonged to the Abbey of Berkeley. From the *Cart. Sax.* p. 202, we learn that Easton on the river Salwarp was "of the inheritance of Ethelric whose mother Ciolburga became Abbess of Berkeley when her husband the Ealderman Ethelmund was killed in battle by the men of Wessex, A.D. 802."

If the position of "Eastun on the river Salwarp" has not yet been determined, we should find its identification here, in Easton Grey on the river Avon, which, rising six miles beyond, flows through that parish and so on to Malmesbury. Furthermore we learn that Ethelric was a great benefactor of the Church, and it may well be that Easton—this Easton I think—was given by him to the Abbey of Berkeley when his mother was the Abbess there.

Easton Grey, formerly in the old Hundred of Dunslawe, is now in that of Chippenham.

Four Cubberley Charters.

Cubberley is a parish lying about four miles south of Cheltenham in the Cotswolds, partly in the Hundred of Rapsgate and partly in that of Bradley. At the time of the great Survey (1086) the tenant in fee of Coberleie was Roger de Berkeley (I). It descended from him in direct line to his right heirs the Berkeleys of the Honour of Dursley, as it formed no part of the Honour of Berkeley, of which estate Roger de Berkeley (III) was deprived in favour of Robert fitz-Harding by Henry II. From these

Berkeleys it passed in 6 Henry IV, when Alice daughter and heir of the last Thomas de Berkeley of Dursley married Sir John Brydges, from whom descended Sir John Brydges created Lord Chandos of Sudeley by Henry VIII.[1]

As a possession of the Priory of Leonard Stanley, Cubberley has no place in the confirmatory charter of Henry II regarding that House. But in an episcopal confirmation which I have dated 1150-1151, Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury and Papal Legate, having himself examined certain " royal charters and the charters also of his beloved son Roger de Berchelaia, patron of the said church " of St. Leonard of Stanley," confirms to the said church of Stanley the church of Cubberley (*ecclesiam de Comberleia*) with other churches specified.

But there must have been misunderstanding, because the title of the Prior and monks of Stanley, that is to say really of the Abbot and Convent of St. Peter's, Gloucester, was at last assailed by William de Berkeley, a younger son, whom his father Roger de Berkeley IV had enfeoffed in that manor some time before 1188. Hence disputes and the prolonged controversy so characteristic of the times when the interests of monastic houses on the one side and of parishes and secular lords on the other so often clashed. It was to compose and terminate such a quarrel that the three charters were drawn up, of which the following careful abstracts have been prepared, they themselves being shown *verbatim* and *in extenso* at the close of this paper. (See pp. 266-9).

I. Bishop Northale's Notification.

This is the full report of the proceedings over the advowson of Cubberley, which passed in the presence of William de Northale, Bishop of Worcester. We are to imagine the contending parties with their respective witnesses assembled whether in the Bishop's court at

[1] See Rudder's *Gloucestershire*, 1779, p. 398.

Worcester or in the Chapter House at Gloucester for episcopal counsel and direction. The document is not the Bishop's personal charter, though it contains his decision. It is a notification and therefore in the third person not in the first. It states the case and announces that a chirograph has been divided between the contending parties. His own subsequent charter will be found in the Archbishop's Inspeximus and Confirmation, and it will be seen that that charter is identical in all essential points, in word and in phrasing, with the form of agreement herein and now set forth. Therefore, though the copy of the Bishop's charter embodied in the Confirmation, is, owing to decay, fragmentary, the missing words can easily be supplied, and they are shown at the close of this paper. (*See* pp. 267-8).

This document, then, which I call Charter I, begins with the usual preamble—in this case to all the sons of Holy Mother Church. It mentions the controversy which had been going on for some time between the Abbot and Convent of the church of St. Peter of Gloucester and the Prior and Monks of Stanley of the one part, and William de Berkeley, Lord of Cubberley, of the other, over the right of the advowson of the church of "Cudberleia." It declares that a compromise on both sides having been made in the presence of the Lord William, Bishop of Worcester, he himself recommending and ordaining, and Master Peter de Leckhampton the rector of the said church being present and giving consent, the controversy had been set at rest under this formula of peace:—The aforesaid Abbot and Convent of Gloucester and the Prior of Stanley surrendered whatsoever rights in the advowson of the church of Cubberley they declared themselves to have, to the aforenamed William de Berkeley who claimed it and to his heirs forever. But inasmuch as the church of St. Leonard of Stanley for the sustenance of the religious men there living had been accustomed to receive five shillings a year

in the name of pension, and in order that their interests should not be wholly sacrificed, the Bishop aforesaid decreed, with the assent and goodwill of William de Berkeley, that it (the Church of St. Leonard) should receive in perpetual alms by the hands of its own servants one half of the tithes of the fruits of the earth of the whole demesne of the said William and the like from all his cottagers in Cubberley cultivating the soil. And in order that this concord should remain to posterity strong and unshaken it was confirmed by a chirograph divided between them and by their attached seals.

In attestation of this convention there here comes a goodly array of no fewer than twenty-six witnesses as follows:—

1. Ralf Abbot of Winchcombe.
2. Master Peter de Leckhampton.
3. John, Dean of Gloucester.
4. Master Godfrey de Llanthony.
5. Master William de Tunbridge.
6. Robert de Beauchamp.
7. Richard de Wirettebury.
8. William fitz Stephen, Sheriff of Gloucester.
9. Roger de Berkeley, Kt.
10. Roger de Berkeley, Kt.
11. Philip de Berkeley, Kt.
12. Oliver de Berkeley, Kt.
13. Robert de Berkeley, Clerk.

(10–13) his sons.

14. Richard de Aldrinton.
15. Richard, cleric of Gloucester.
16. Arnald Dunington and Arnald his son.
17.
18. Adam Rufus.
19. Walter Coke.
20. William de Botinton.
21. Robert de Berton.
22. Geoffrey de Lilleton.

23. } Hamon Carbonel and Robert his brother.
24. }
25. Nicholas de Rudes.
26. Robert Testard.

The seals are missing, and the endorsement is *Cuthberleye.*

NOTES.

William de Norhale or Northale. On the 21st September, 1186, he was consecrated Bishop of Worcester by his old friend and former Bishop, Archbishop Baldwyn of Canterbury. Before that date he had been Archdeacon of Worcester—from the year 1177. (Eyton's *Itinerary, Henry II*, p. 72). He died in 1190

1. Ralf was Abbot of Winchcombe from 1183 to 1194.

2. Peter de Leckhampton. Neve (*Fasti*) calls him Peter de Lech. In this charter the name appears as Peter de Lech; that is de Lechton, and Lechton has been identified as Leckhampton, a parish adjoining Cubberley and situated between it and Cheltenham, being about two miles south of the latter. Peter de Leckhampton was also Archdeacon of Worcester. The designation *Master* imports that he had taken his Master's degree at a University.

3. John, Dean of Gloucester. He appears as a witness to Robert de Ewyas' charter to the Abbot confirming his father Robert's and his grandfather Harald's foundation-grants to Ewyas Priory, a cell of Gloucester, in 1196 (*Hist. et. Cart. Glos.*) But in an earlier charter of Margaret de Boun granting land in Tuffley to the Abbey he witnesses as *John de Bortuna the Dean* with Master Peter de Lech Vice-Archdeacon, and William fitz Stephen the Sheriff, while in a charter of Margaret's son William de la Mare which passed about the same time, once more in the company of *Master Peter de Lecche* he appears as *John the Dean.* John de Borton therefore was his name (*Ibid.* II, 81). The church of " Bortuna " was confirmed

to St. Peter's by Pope Honorius II, 1224-1230 (*Ibid.* II, 47).

4. MASTER GODFREY DE LANTHONY. Godfrey (*Godfridus*) de Henlow was Prior in 1188, his period of office lasting from 1178 to 1203. The Lanthony here mentioned is of course the Priory of Llanthony in Gloucester, which was founded in 1136, the site having been given by Milo Earl of Hereford, a Constable of England. He was Sheriff of Gloucestershire in 31 Henry I. Milo's defection from King Stephen occurred early in 1139 after Maud's landing. (Round's *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 285). It was Milo's brother Walter de Hereford who is said to have violently dispossessed Roger de Berkeley III of his castle, and imprisoned him in Gloucester castle in 1146— a proof that Roger was of the party of Stephen.

5. MASTER WILLIAM DE TUNBRIDGE. At Tonbridge there was an Augustinian Priory founded by Henry I. "William de Tunbridge" is not to be found in reference books at the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. But as his predecessor in this witness-clause is a Prior, it is just possible that in "Master William de Tunbridge" we have a missing Prior of that Monastery.

6. ROBERT DE BEAUCHAMP was a considerable tenant in Somersetshire, holding of the Honour of Gloucester (*Liber Rubeus*). I identify him with Robert de Beauchamp, Lord of Hatch, co. Somerset, in 1211-12 (*Testa de Nevill*), the father of the more famous Robert de Beauchamp whose devotion to King John brought him both wealth and honour, and whom that monarch's son Henry III advanced to the dignity of Judge Itinerant (*D.N.B.*). Doubtless he was also connected with William de Beauchamp of the Household of Henry II, who was Sheriff of Gloucestershire, Worcestershire and Staffordshire from 1157 to 1163, and was dead in 1170 (*Pipe Rolls*).

7. RICHARD DE WIRETTEBURY. Probably the Abbot's tenant at Wraysbury, co. Bucks. Canon Bazeley reminds

me that the name assumes the form *Wirecesbury* (*Hist. et Cart. Glos.* i, 65, 124, etc.) The letters "c" and "t" are often so alike that in this case the Editor has probably mistaken "t" for "c" especially as I find the name spelt *Wiredesbury* in Vol. ii, p. 47.

8. WILLIAM FITZ STEPHEN. He, with his (elder) brother Ralf, was Sheriff of Gloucestershire from 1171 to 1186, and he continued to be Sheriff till 1190. (*Pipe Rolls*).

9, 10, 11, 12, 13. ROGER DE BERKELEY, KT. This was Roger IV, who had enfeoffed as aforesaid a younger son William in Cubberley. He appears here with his four other sons, of whom Roger his heir, Philip and Oliver, were not only Knights, but also obviously in respective possession of Knightly tenancies. The youngest Robert was a priest enfeoffed in a manor at Dursley. ROGER the FATHER died in or before 1191 (*Pipe Rolls*, 1 Richard I). ROGER his successor married (1) Lucaria, 1209, (2) Hawise d. of Ralf Paynel paying 60 marks into the Treasury for permission. He it was who became heavily indebted to the Jews of Bristol as I have described. He died before May, 1121 (*Pipe Roll*). OLIVER was fermor of the Port of Bristol, for which ferm he paid into the Treasury no less a sum than £52 10s. for one half-year, as the Pipe Roll of 3 John testifies.[1]

14. RICHARD DE ALDRINTON. Perhaps the *Alcrintone* of Domesday, and if so identical with Alkerton in Eastington, and Richard will have been the tenant. It is said to have been given by Henry I to Walter de Hereford, Constable of Gloucester castle, and to his heirs. (Taylor's *Domesday Survey, B. and G. A. S.* p. 182). But the tithes at least, or at any rate a pension or a rent were appurtenant to the Abbey, or rather to the Priory at Stanley, as we know from the Inquisition p.m. of William Sandford,

[1] This fact was missed by Sir Henry Barkly in his papers on the Berkeley family in *Transactions, B.G.A.S.* vols. VIII and IX.

dated 27 April, 13 Elizabeth, in which it is stated that the Priory owned rents in Alkerton.

15. RICHARD THE CLERK, *n*[*otario* ?] OF GLOUCESTER. Though a Notary Public was always a cleric, this surmise may be wide of the mark. His identity I have not discovered.

16, 17. ARNALD DE DUNINGTON AND ARNALD HIS SON. The place is Donnington in Archenfield, Herefordshire (see Baddeley's *Herefordshire Placenames, Trans. B. and G. A. S.* xxxix, p. 126). Land in Donyntone in the time of Abbot William (1113-31) was given to the monks of Gloucester by William the Constable (*Hist. et Cart. Glos.* I, 105).

A certain Adam Donyntone was holding of the Abbot, half a virgate apparently there, consisting of 24 acres, but he was only I imagine a customary tenant (*Ibid.* III, 93).

18. ADAM RUFUS. A frequent Gloucestershire name was that of Rufus, sometimes Englished "The Rede." A Henry Rufus was holding 3 virgates of land at Brocthorpe in or about 1226 (*Testa de Nevill*), and Brocthorpe had been given to St. Peter's by Adeliza, widow of Roger de Ivri in 1104 (Taylor's *Domesday, B. and G. A. S.* p. 174). It lies between Gloucester and Stroud. Adam I have not found.

19. WALTER THE COOK. Many also were the Cooks, and often they were men of standing. In 1086 for instance part of the manor of Leckhampton was held by a former Walter the Cook (see Taylor's *Domesday*), whose descendants were probably still at Leckhampton in 1188. The name varies, Cook, Coke, Coquus, Cocus, Coccus, and even Cockes, Kokkes and Cox, might probably all shake hands over their common ancestry.

20. WILLIAM DE BOTINTONE (Bodington). William de Botintona is leading witness in a charter of Hamelin, Abbot of Gloucester(1148 to 1179) in the Cathedral Library. The manor lies six miles N.E. from Gloucester,

and was held under the Abbey (*Rudder*), to which it had been confirmed by Adrian IV (Taylor's *Domesday*, p. 148).

21. ROBERT DE BERTONE *i.e.* of the Barton, the Abbot's manor by Gloucester. Probably a son of Roger de Barton who also witnesses Abbot Hamelin's charter. He held the mill of Burton with a croft of 3 acres, a dwelling house and 1 acre of land; rent 12s. (See Mr. Baddeley's list of deeds in *Transactions B. and G. A. S.*, vol. xxxvii.

22, 23, 24, 25, 26. GEOFFREY DE LILLETON,[1] now Linton, a place in Highnam two miles from Gloucester, originally a hamlet of Hamme (Churcham). He is a frequent witness to Gloucester Abbey deeds of the time, with NICHOLAS DE RUDES and ROBERT TESTARD (*Ibid.*) HAMON CARBONEL and his brother ROBERT were certainly of the family of the then Abbot Thomas Carbonel (1179-1205). The *Pipe Roll* of 3 John shows Hamon Carbonel holding a knight's fee in Hampshire, while at this very time, during Thomas Carbonel's Abbacy, Philip Carbonel held a virgate in Standish (*Hist. et Cart. Glos.*, I, 111).

II. BISHOP NORTHALE'S SECOND CHARTER.

The original of this charter appears to have been lost. But the loss is not too serious, seeing that it is largely preserved, in the Archbishop's Inspeximus and Confirmation (Charter III), and wherein that copy is defective owing to the ravages of time, Charter I which is all but identical supplies the loss sustained. But though *mutatis mutandis* it is identical with Charter I, it is nevertheless a distinct and separate document. That, as already observed, was framed in the third person, this was written in the first. The former was the agreement made by both parties under the direction of the Bishop and in the presence of numerous witnesses. The latter is the

[1] The two misleading names Lilleton and Littelton, in the writing of the period, are sometimes uncertain. The monks had land in Littleton in Hampshire of the gift of Hugh de Pordt (*Hist et Cart. Glos.* I, 206).

Bishop's considered judgment and final verdict. Charter I ends with the statement that a canonical chirograph stating the terms of the agreement and the decision concurred in had been written in form of indenture with seals interchangeably affixed and handed one to each of the principals concerned. In Charter II the Bishop winds up by stating that in view of the settlement agreed upon he had seen fit to commit it to his present writing, and to confirm it by the subscription of witnesses, and by the impress of his seal. Moreover the witnesses to Charter II, instead of twenty-six, number only eleven, and of these eleven, four only are common to both the Charters. They are as follows:—

1. Master PETER de LECK[HAMPTON].
2. Master GODFREY de LANTHONY.
3. Master WILLIAM de TUNBRIDGE.
4. ROBERT de BEAUCHAMP.

These are the leading witnesses and they have already been treated of in the notes on the test-clause of Charter I. The rest are:—

5. ROBERT de LECKHAMPTON. I suppose him to have been a brother rather than a nephew of Peter de Leckhampton, though we shall see in Charter IV there was such a nephew.

6. . . . . FITZ GODFREY (*Godfridi*).

7. JOHN de DRATTON.

8. HUGH PINCERNA. Hugh the Butler was possibly an official of the Abbey.

9. WALTER NEPHEW of MASTER PETER (de Leckhampton).

10. GEOFFREY (Galfridus) SON OF RESTWOLD.

11. . . . . MAINWARD. There were Maynards tenants of the Abbey as the Cartulary shows. Thus Margery Maynard had a messuage and curtilage and ½ virgate of 20 acres at a rent of 5s. (p. 141); but their names appear among those who were bond socmen, or

perhaps freemen holding in villeinage, not of feoffment but by the custom of the manor. I think it possible that Geoffrey son of Restwold and Mainward were monks.

III. Archbishop Baldwyn's Inspeximus and Confirmation.

Of this I give a translation:—

"B. [Baldwyn] by the Grace of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, to all the faithful of Christ to whom the present writing shall come Greeting in the Lord. Be it known to you all that letters(*i.e.* the charter) of our venerable Brother, William Bishop of Worcester, have been exhibited to us in these words":—

[Here follows Charter II word for word, with all the witnesses' names, copied *verbatim*, having quoted which the Archbishop continues:—]

We therefore holding as fixed and acceptable what has by the charter aforesaid in this matter been determined, have fortified that which has been rightly and canonically done, by the testimony of this present writing and by the addition of our seal. These being witnesses":-

[Gir]raldo Archidiacono Menenensi, Magistro Petro Bleseusi Bathoniensi Archidiacono. Magistro Silvestro. Magistro Alexandro Wallensi. Ricardo de Umfravilla. Reginaldo de Oilly. Nicholao de Lideforda. Magistro Michaele de Buke[? landa]. Magistro Reginaldo de Hamma. Willielmo de Botintona. Eustachio de Wilton et multis aliis.

NOTES.

Archbishop Baldwyn. He was a Cistercian monk of the Abbey of Ford then in co. Devon, now in Dorset on the borders of Somerset four miles S.E. of Chard, of which house he became Abbot. In 1180 he was consecrated Bishop of Worcester and in 1184 raised to the Primacy. Henry II employed him diplomatically in South Wales

and he again visited the Principality as Legate in 1187. In 1188 the King commissioned him to preach the Crusade in Wales when he traversed the whole country. He took the Cross himself on the 11th February, 1188, assisted at the coronation of Richard I on the 3rd September, 1189, preceded him to Palestine with a retinue of 100 Knights and a large attendance of followers, and died at Acre in 1190. A notable figure of the times!

As regards the date and place of his confirmation-charter concerning Cubberley, Giraldus Cambrensis is in a great measure the authority. From him we learn that he preached the Crusade in Wales throughout the Lent of 1188, that he entered the Principality from Hereford, passing thence to Radnor, that he came to Radnor on or about Ash Wednesday, which in that year fell on March 2nd—*Accedens itaque ad Radenouram circa jejunii caput*, (Dimock's *Itinerarium* of Giraldus, vi, 13), and that he reached Chester in time for Easter, April 17th.

For date and place these facts will carry us far, when we consider further (1) that he himself had been recently Bishop of Worcester which then included Gloucestershire. (2) That William de Northale, his old Archdeacon at Gloucester, succeeded him as Diocesan. (3) That before crossing the Severn he most probably spent a day or two at the great Abbey of St. Peter. (4) That an examination of his test clause reveals the fact that many of his witnesses were tenants of the Abbey. (See *infra*). The evidence therefore on the whole suggests rather as a certainty than as a conjecture, that it was in the Chapter House of Gloucester that, as he himself puts it, " the charter of my venerable Brother William Bishop of Worcester was exhibited to me," and that there it was that he confirmed it and confirmed it therefore, as we gather from Giraldus, some days before Ash Wednesday, the 2nd March, that is to say towards the very end of February, 1188.

THE ARCHBISHOP'S WITNESSES.

(1) GIRALDUS ARCHDEACON OF ST. DAVID'S. His name is writ large in the history of the time. A man of royal blood, his mother having been Nesta, a Welsh princess. Famous as an historical and topographical writer. His own designation in the witness-clause—*Archdiacono Menenensi*—should be noted. The foiled ambition of his life was to have the Welsh Church pronounced free, national, and independent of Canterbury, with himself the first Metropolitan at St. David's.

Giraldus was the first in Wales to take the Cross, but he did not go, preferring a dispensation to remain at home and pray, rather than the obligation of marching and fighting the infidel. But at least he accompanied the Archbishop throughout his mission of Crusade in Wales, and was his interpreter (Dimock, *Itin.* vi, 13-14).

2. PETER DE BLOIS, ARCHDEACON OF BATH. Called de Blois from the place of origin of his family. One of the most learned and accomplished men of his day. Educated at Bologne, he lectured at Paris, held office in Rouen, became *cancellarius* to the Archbishop Richard of Canterbury c. 1173, and Archdeacon of Bath in 1175. In 1177 *Rymer's Fœdera* shows him detained by illness at Newport and writing to the King. He was Secretary to the Queen-Mother Eleanor in 1190, and Archdeacon of London in 1192. In March or April 1193 he wrote begging the Archbishop of Mentz to use his influence on behalf of Richard I held captive in Austria (*Ibid.*) Of his works his *Epistolæ*, still to be definitely edited, is historically the most important. On the occasion of this charter he was of the train of the Archbishop Baldywn. There is an entry concerning him in the Pipe Roll of 1 Richard I—"To Master Peter Blesensis xx.s. which he was wont to receive annually from the Bishop's chamber." (Hunter's *Great Roll*, p. 12). This was during a vacancy of the Bishopric of London. I suppose that Theobald of Blois

who was with the Archbishop when he died at Acre was a relation.

3. MASTER SILVESTER. He appears to have been one of Archbishop Baldwyn's clerks. He is found associated with him in the witness-clause of a royal charter concerning the Priory of Dodford in Worcestershire, A.D. 1186—(*Monasticon*, Vol. vii, p. 944). On a previous occasion we find a Master Silvester witnessing an agreement between Richard Archdeacon of Wilts, and the Abbot and Convent of Gloucester, before Roger Bishop of Worcester (1163-1180), concerning tithes at Clive (co. Hereford) for the life of the Archdeacon. Rent 1 lb. of incense to the Prior of Ewyas payable at Gloucester on the Feast of the Assumption (*Transactions B. and G. A. S.* xxxvii, 228)

Later on in the time of Abbot Henry (Foliot) Master Silvester was rector of Wraysbury, co. Bucks. Abbot Henry assigns to him the church of *Langeleye*, which had been adjudged a chapel of Wraysbury, on condition that he pays from the said church 100s. *per annum* to St. Peter's (*Hist. et Cart. Glos.*, ii, 171).

4. MASTER ALEXANDER WALENSIS. Thomas à Becket had a clerk of this name, who was at Frascati with the Pope in March, 1171, no doubt in connection with the Archbishop's murder on the 29th December, 1170 (Eyton's *Itinerary*, p. 155). He was probably a Gloucestershire man, notwithstanding that *Welsh* was his name.

A RICHARD WALLENSIS held Winterbourne, co. Glos., of Henry II, and his son had it in 1166 (*Liber Rubeus*).

An ADAM WALLENSIS was a benefactor of the Abbey of Gloucester in the time of Henry Foliot, 1205-1229.

In 1212 a WILLIAM WALLENSIS is found holding a hide of land at Newton, Glos., of the King (Lyte's *Book of Fees*, vol. 1, p. 80).

In the Gloucester Cathedral Library there is an interesting deed of Katherine de Gloucester (using her maiden

name) relict of Walter fitz Peter, who for the salvation of her soul, etc., gives land in Castle Street to the Abbey. Among the witnesses we find an *Adam Wallensis*. As the list is an exceedingly interesting one it will not be amiss to give the whole of the names here. They are:—

Alexander (? fitz Peter) " my son," Richard de Bosco and Henry, two of the Monks of Gloucester, John Rufus and *Adam Wallensis*, their stewards, or reeves, Maurice fitz Durant (? *alias* de Gloucester), John de Gosedich, Ralf the Goldsmith, Henry (? fitz Peter) " my son," Hugh the clerk, Simon the cellarer (a notable and a memorable name!) Walter Long and Helyas . . . . . Sergeants of the Hundred, " and many others " The seal, the donor's own personal seal, shows a fully draped female figure. It should be noted that in 1242 there was an assayer of coins in Gloucester named Ralf the Goldsmith, and a *monetarius* (mint-master, or moneyer) named Henry de Gloucester (*Liber Niger*, p. 1075), and that in the time of Abbot Reginald (1263-84) Nicholas, son of Maurice Durant gave land in Duntherleye to the Abbey (*Hist. et Cart. Glos.*)

5. Richard de Umfraville. He is the leading lay-witness to the confirmation, and I think it not unlikely that he was in the retinue of the Archbishop and, that like Giraldus the leading clerical witness, he had taken the Cross. In that case he may be identified in the Richard de Unfranville of Brudhoe in Northumberland which he held of old enfeoffment (*temp.* Henry I ?) for two and a half knights, and of Redesdale, which by a grant of the same king or possibly of a former one he was holding by the service of guarding it—for it must have been a royal chase—from robbers (Hall's *Liber Rubeus*, p. 178, also p. 563).

The Umfravilles, who derived their name from Amfréville in France, whether of Northumberland or of the Honour of Gloucester, were identical families. The name

occurs as early as William Rufus, when one of the witnesses to a confirmation by that king of Walter Giffard's grant of his manor of Blackenham, co. Suffolk, to St. Mary of Bec is *Ralph de Ulfranville* (Davis' *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, no. 320.[1]) But still earlier in c. 1098 record speaks of a *Robert de Humfranville* attesting a notification of gift by Arnulf de Montgomery son of Earl Roger to St. Martin of Sées of the church of St. Nicholas at Pembroke (Round's *Cat. of French Documents*, 666). On the other hand the pretended charter of William I to Robert Umfrevill in 1070, a brazen concoction of the 16th century, has been finely exposed by Dr. Round in his *Peerage and Pedigree*, i, 296.

WALTER DE AMFRAVILLA is a witness to a deed of William de Gloucester in 1123 who with the consent of his heir Milo and of Sybil de Newmarch his, Milo's, wife the heiress of the Barony of Brecknock, gives Little Hereford in knight's fee to his nephew William de Mare in exchange for another manor. (Round's *Ancient Charters*, Pipe Roll Society). The same Walter is one of the leading lay-witnesses to the charter of Henry I concerning Colne Rogers in the same year or soon after (*A Gloucester Charter*, N. and Q., 1918, p. 149). I imagine he was related to the family of the Constable, on account of his close association with Milo de Gloucester in witness-clauses, and because the name of Sybil occurs among his immediate female descendents.

In 5 Henry II, 1159, GILBERT D' UMFRAVILLE pays his relief to have seizin of his land of Milo Earl of Gloucester (*Pipe Roll*, 5 Henry II). In 1166 GILBERT de HUNFRAMVILLE was holding IX knights' fees of William Earl of Gloucester (Hall's *Liber Rubeus*, p. 288). In 1 Richard I, 1189, HENRY d' UNFRANVILLE owes £4 for his relief for his

[1] Communicated by my learned friend Mr. Geoffrey H. White, whose remarkable monograph on the Constables under the Norman Kings has elicited distinguished praise.

lands in the Honour of Gloucester (Hunter's *Great roll of the Pipe*, p. 9).

Though Richard was the name of the representative of the Northumberland branch in 1188, yet the name Gilbert was common among them too. Thus GILBERT DE UMFREVILLE of Brudhoe and Redesdale it was who, early in the next century, married Matildis heiress of the Celtic Barony of Angus, and became Earl of Angus, a title which he transmitted to his descendants (G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, ed. Vicar Gibbs, i, 146; also Dugdale's *Baronage*, i, 506).

Where exactly the nine knights' fees held by the Umfravilles in the Honour of Gloucester were situated I do not know as *Liber Niger* and *Liber Rubeus* omit the names. Two of them are referred to in the following extracts from the *Testa de Nevill*, edition of 1807, p. 191. "And that Henry de Holebrok holds in *Holebrok* one fee of GILBERT DE UMFRAVILLE of the Honour of the Earl of Gloucester." And *ibid.* p. 200—"In County Somerset, of a knight's fee in *Northwere* which SIBILLA DE UMFRAVILLE holds."[1] There is a Holebrook in Gloucestershire, in the Cotswolds, five miles west of Marshfield.

6. REGINALD D'OILLY. This knight too must have been in the suite of the Archbishop, for the reason mentioned already. Doubtless a descendant, though I cannot place him, of "Robertus de Oilgi" of the Survey of 1086, who was granted no fewer than 60 manors, of which three were in Gloucestershire, namely Turkdean, Rissington and Naunton. But be it noted that he married, with the Conqueror's permission, a Saxon heiress, Ealdgitha, said to have been the daughter of the great thane, Wigod of Wallingford. He was succeeded by his brother Neel, whose son Robert founded Oseney Priory in 1129. Roger D'Oyle, c. 1135, was one of the *Constabularii* of the King's

[1] It should be remembered that there were many fees quite outside of the County of Gloucester that were held of the Honour of Gloucester.

Household (*Liber Rubeus*, Hall, p. 812). In 1211-12 a Roger D'Oyli held a ½ Knight at Newton, Glos. (*Ibid.* p. 604). Reginald D'Oilly was probably also of Newton.[1]

7. NICHOLAS DE LIDEFORD, whom I also believe to have been a knight of the household and in the retinue of the Archbishop. There is a Lidford in Somerset. There is also a Lydford in Devon not far from the Archbishop's old monastery of Ford. Nicholas I do not as yet identify.

With this witness (Nicholas de Lideford) the first part of the test clause ends. The second, like the first, begins with the names of ecclesiastics and then come the names of laymen. As in the former section, the witnesses were of the company of the Archbishop, so in the latter we find the names of men connected more or less intimately with the Abbey of St. Peter's and with Gloucestershire.

8. MASTER MICHAEL DE BUKE[?LAND]. The manor of Buckland belonged to the Abbey and was confirmed to it by Adrian IV. It lies in the rural deanery of Winchcombe. The living is and was a rectory, and Master Michael in 1188 was probably the rector.

9. MASTER REGINALD DE HAMME. HAMME, now Churcham, lies four miles from Gloucester on the Monmouth road, and was held in 1086 under the Abbey of St. Peter. Master Reginald was probably the incumbent there.

10. WILLIAM DE BOTINTONE. This tenant of the Abbey has been already mentioned.

11. EUSTACE DE WILTON. Doubtless also a tenant of the Abbey or a member of the community.

4. ABBOT THOMAS CARBONEL'S CHARTER.

As in Archbishop Baldwyn's confirmation charter there are *lacunæ*, so also there are gaps in this charter due to age and decay, but though words are missing, the meaning can easily be inferred:—

[1] For further details concerning the earlier D'Oylis see A. S. Ellis' *Domesday Tenants of Gloucestershire*, pp. 69-73, and White's *Constables*. pt. II, in the *Genealogist*, vol. xxxviii.

"Be it known to all that I Thomas by the Grace of God, Abbot, and the Convent of the Church of St. Peter of Gloucester, have conceded to Robert the Clerk, nephew of Master Peter de Lech[hampton], Archdeacon of Worcester, the half of the tenths of the fruits of the whole demesne of William de Berkelai, and of his cottagers in Cudberleia, which pertains to the church of Saint Leonard of Stanleia, to hold of us for his life only for one half a mark of silver, rendering it to the Prior of Stanleia annually at these terms at the Feast of Saint Michael the Archangel xl.d. and at the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary xl.d. (forty pence). Moreover the said Robert has sworn that he will be faithful to our Church [*quod fideli*]*s erit ecclesie nostre* . . . . . (*o tenemento*), and that [he will indemnify ?] the church of Saint Leonard of Stanley in respect of the tenths aforesaid from loss or entanglement in the [? King's] court. In testimony whereof we have delivered [to the said Robert one] part of a chirograph fortified with our seal, but the other part [reinforced] with the seal of the aforesaid Archdeacon, we have in our own possession." (See the Latin text, pp. 268-9).

So far as the Priory of Leonard Stanley is concerned, here the story appears to end. No mention of Cubberley is to be found in the full list of its possessions made either in the last Abbot's indenture, in favour of Sir William Kingston, or in the deed of sale by which all those possessions duly enumerated were conveyed to Sir Anthony Kingston (*P.R.O.*) The charge on Cubberley seems to have been claimed and monopolized by the Abbey itself, and apparently it was so claimed in right of a supposed gift of Cubberley made by Edith, Abbess of St. Peter's, in Saxon times. Possibly it was one of the many manors lost to St. Peter's before, or just after, the Conquest. Of these manors Serlo, the first Norman Abbot, is stated to have recovered a certain number, though Cubberley was not one of them. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, ii, p. 409, in

edition of 1814, tells us that the value of Cubberley to Gloucester Abbey—not to Stanley Priory—at the Dissolution was £6 18s. 8d. (See also the *Hist. et Cart. Glos.*, and Atkyns's *Gloucestershire*).

Robert the Clerk was probably the curate of his uncle the Archdeacon at Cubberley.

A Curious Early Leonard Stanley Will.

(*P. C. C. Blamys* 17, *Somerset House*).

This is the will of John Gybys (Gibbs); and the following is a translation from the Latin:—

"In the name of God, Amen. On the twelfth day of the month of October in the year of the Lord the one thousandth five hundredth and second I John Gybys of Stanley Saint Leonard in the Diocese of Worcester being sound in mind and of good memory although laid up with infirmity fearing the danger of death make my testament in this manner. *Imprimis* I give and bequeath my soul to God Omnipotent, to the Blessed Mary, and to all the Saints, and my body to be buried in the cemetery of Stanley aforesaid. *Item* I bequeath to the mother church of Worcester 4 pence. *Item* for the lamp of Saint Mary the Virgin existing in the aforesaid church of Stanley 8 pence. *Item* I bequeath to the Guild (*fraternitati*) of St. John the Baptist 2 pence. *Item* I bequeath for torches (candles) to the parish church 12 pence. *Item* I bequeath for lights and lamps before the Image of the High Cross 4 pence. And to my father my best cloak. *Item* I bequeath to my infant not yet born 10 marks and my principal house, and if it shall die then I will that the aforesaid ten marks and the house should remain to my brother Thomas. *Item* I bequeath to any priest whatever 8 marks in order that he may celebrate [masses] for my soul and for the souls of all the faithful departed. But the rest of all my goods not bequeathed I give and bequeath to Coletta my wife for execution that she may

take order for them for the salvation of my soul as it shall seem best to her whom I ordain and constitute my true and lawful executrix. *Item* I will that John Cloderbuk and John Williams shall be supervisors of my will aforesaid. These being witnesses, Sir Geoffrey, Richard Hill, and Thomas Gabbe and many others. Given on the day and in the place aforesaid.

Proved on oath at Lambeth 10 day of month of Feb., 1502 "(-3).

NOTES.

John Gibbs was evidently a member of the Guild of St. John the Baptist. In other words he was a weaver by trade, of which mystery St. John Baptist, whose emblem was the woolly lamb, was the patron saint. Cloth weaving was general all over the district, and the cloth woven was famous both in England and on the continent. John Sandford clothier of Gloucester and Stonehouse who purchased the church lands of Leonard Stanley *temp*. Edward VI, and who died in 1560 at Frankfort, left by his will dated 29th May, 1557. "£10 to the English congregation at Frankfort." (*Somerset House*). Thus these old weavers prospered and flourished exceedingly. Weaving brought wealth, and with wealth they purchased houses and estates, and in many cases they became the lords of manors. With regard to the Cotswold wool there was a prevalent saying:—

In Europe the best wool is the English,
In England the best wool is the Cotswold.

The reference in the will to lights and lamps before the Image on the High Cross refers to the figure of Christ on the rood. For the maintenance of the "lamp of St. Mary the Virgin," ten shillings *per annum* were of old granted by Henry son of Robert Cokkes, *temp*. Henry III—" to burn *perpetually* before the altar of Blessed Mary in the Greater Church of St. Leonard." (*Archæologia*, vol. 71,

p. 210). It burns no more, but the name Cox still survives in the parish.

JOHN CLODERBUK. Many were the Clutterbucks in those days living at Leonard Stanley and King's Stanley, descendants no doubt of one of those Flemish weavers whom Edward III brought to England. There are two families of Clutterbucks still living in Leonard Stanley. In those days, like the Selwyns, the Fowlers, and the Sandfords, the Clutterbucks were men of local influence and standing, the well-to-do owners of acres, freehold and copyhold, and of tuck-mills and grist-mills. Abstracts of the wills of two members of this family, the one of Leonard Stanley, the other of King's Stanley, are of sufficient interest to be singled out and given in this place.

1. THE WILL OF ROBERT CLOTERBOOK of Stanley St. Leonards of no occupation, dated 25th Oct^{r}, 1562.

TO THE BOXE for the use of the poor people of Leonard Stanley 20d.

TO MY WIFE JANE CLOTERBOOK and her assigns all my interest title and clayme in a tuck myll and a grysh myll in King's Stanley holden by lease of John Harmer from the Feast of St. Michaell the archangell next ensuing. Also interest in one meadow called the Moore Meadow which I bought of John Harmer of Kingstanley.

I GIVE TO THOMAS CLOTERBOOK MY BROTHER RICHARDE CLOTERBOOK'S ELDEST SON my best coate.

I GIVE TO THOMAS CLOTERBOOK my brother John's eldest son my sworde and my dager with my purse and my gyrdell.

I GIVE TO RICHARD CLOTERBOOK my brother John's son my coate, and to WILLIAM Cloterbook my brother my best satten dublett.

I GIVE TO WILLIAM NICOLSONNE *my servant my shotinge bowe and twelve shaftes which shaftes or arrowes be in the custodie of Richarde Doune a flecher of Gloucester.*

I GIVE TO RICHARDE THOMAS Curate of Strowd my chamlelet Jackett.

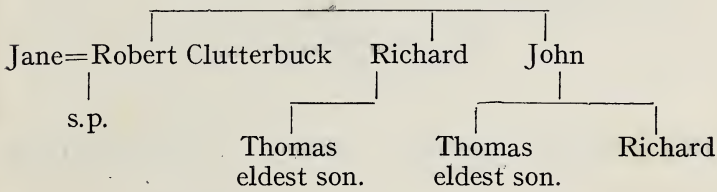
RESIDUE of goods I give to my WIFE JANE and appoint her executrix, my two brothers Richard Cloterbooke of Stanley and William Cloterbooke of Essington (Eastington) to be my overseers.

WITNESSES:—

Richarde Hunte, Edmund Coxe,
Francis Astonne, William Selwine,
Awncelme Itheridge.

Proved 25th June, 1563.

From this will we derive the following pedigree:—



RICHARD HUNTE was the Curate of Leonard Stanley, Appointed thereto in 1553.

WILLIAM SELWYN was of King's Stanley, and brother of "Jasper Selwyn of Mattson in the co. of the cittye of Gloucester esquyre." (Original deed *penes* the Jones' Trustees).

The second Clutterbuck will is curious on account of the bequest of the testator's *trade-mark.*

2. WILL OF JASPER CLOTTERBOOKE OF KING'S STANLEY.

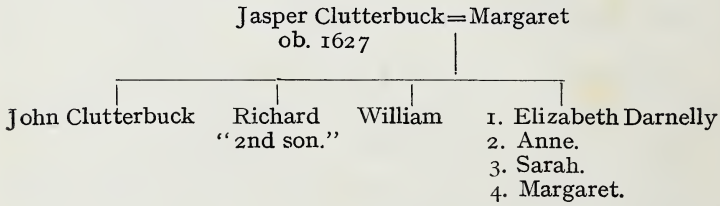
Proved at Gloucester 11th of March, 1627.

The testator makes mention of Samuel Hallidaie, clothier, Thomas Sandford, Gent. and Edward Stephens and Richard Clotterbooke (of Leonard Stanley) clothiers. He mentions also Margaret his wife, John his son, Richard his second son and William his son. To his son John he bequeaths his "CLOTH MARK" but with strict injunctions that it is not to be used by him during the life-time of his

wife, who thus would control the business and be amply provided for. He mentions also his eldest daughter Elizabeth Darnelly. To his three daughters Anne, Sarah and Margaret he leaves the sum of £200 each—a considerable sum for those days. His eldest daughter presumably had been provided for on marriage.

His witnesses were Thomas Sandford, Nathaniel Taylor, and John Clarke. Of these "Thomas Sauncteford" was one of the Sandfords of the Priory, Leonard Stanley. He was appointed Bailiff to collect certain of the King's rents within the manor of Leonard Stanley and elsewhere (Court of Augmentation MSS. P.R.O.)

This will gives us the following pedigree:—



An Interesting Indenture.

Dated Leonard Stanley, 19th June, 17 James I, 1619.

This indenture of which the following is an abstract affords vivid hints of a social order in rural places which has quite passed away. It is an indenture between William Whitmore, Lord of the manor of Stanley St. Leonards, of the one part, and Richard Carpenter of the same, wheelwright, of the other part. The former confers on the latter, for a fine of 13s. 4d. and in consideration of his re-edifying a Market House in Leonard Stanley, a parcel of land in the "High Street" (now called "The Street") 60 feet long and 18 feet broad, on which parcel of land the Market House was heretofore erected, together with all tolls, profits, dues, and commodities of the "Fayres and Markets" which shall hereafter be held—

to have and to hold the said parcel of land, toll, profits, etc. unto Richard Carpenter, his heirs and assigns, for the period of 60 years from last Ladyday. Rent 5s. at the two terms usual (Michaelmas and Ladyday), with power to William Whitmore to distrain, and, failing anything to distrain, to re-enter.

Richard Carpenter engages within two years to rebuild with good and sufficient oaken timber or with stone, a convenient Market House and cover the same with "sclatts," and within the building to make a chamber wherein the said lord his heirs, etc., or his steward, shall hold all "Lawdays" and Court Barons as they shall think fit, and the same for the meetings of the parishioners therein, such meetings, however, not to exceed four times in the year, the said Market House to be kept in repair by the said Richard Carpenter, his heirs and assigns. (*From the Estate Muniments*).

Lawdays, here identical with certain Manor Court days (see p. 231), were originally the two yearly terms when rents were received and legal claims considered. Ordinarily the Communal Courts were held once in every three weeks when the frankpledges presented to the communal court persons guilty of breach of the peace, trespassers, offenders against the assizes of bread and beer, etc., it representing the ancient Halimot where judgment came from the whole court and its suitors without distinction of class. The courts of free tenants only (Courts Baron) on which sat a jury of 24 householders, and which as a rule met only three times in the year, was a comparatively modern innovation.

The Market House at Leonard Stanley stood on land, once part of the lord's waste, but now enclosed, opposite the premises of the White Hart. It was probably swept away by the great fire in 1686.

As I have mentioned the White Hart, a tavern-sign as old as the reign of Richard II, of which king the badge was

a white hart, I may also mention here that long ago there was another hostelry in this village called the Cross Keys, after St. Peter's of Gloucester. The building, which may date from the 15th century, is now divided into two tenements. Its fine oaken chamfered beams and timbers, especially in its upper storey, which in a single chamber once extended the whole length of the house, are worthy of inspection by the curious antiquary. It stands by the road side facing the chancel of the church on the north side. Tradition has it that when the Church House was alienated, it was in the Cross Keys that minister, churchwardens, singers, and minstrels assembled before the hour of Divine Service to robe and to walk in procession to the church.

The Leonard Stanley Fire.

Before the year 1686 Stanley St. Leonards, now a mere village, was far larger than it has ever been since. It was classed as a town and its weekly markets were greater, more frequented and more important than any others in the district, in fact it was the only market in the Hundred. But in the month of May in that year (as Rudder informs us) a disastrous fire broke out which destroyed all the houses and other buildings not solidly built of Cotswold stone, a calamity from the effects of which the place never rallied. To relieve the distress, briefs were obtained from the proper authorities in accordance with a general custom of the time, ordering charitable contributions to be collected in all the churches on behalf of the stricken community (*MS. penes* Miss Denison Jones). The two "collectors" appointed by the parish were Samuel Shillom and George Wright. The business was protracted, and it was not till the 2nd July, 1688 that "Capt. Robert Sandford," the largest landowner, was able to hand in the accounts of the fund of which he was the treasurer. As these accounts have never been published I present

them here from the original MS. for the information of the reader:—

COLLECTED:—	£	s.	d.
Imprimis. Received of George Wright the first time	56	00	00
Item. Received of Samuel Shillom the first time ..	49	10	00
,, Received from George Wright the 2nd time	07	00	09
,, Received from Samuel Shillom the 2nd time	09	15	03
,, Received of the Lord Bishop at Lempton[1] ..	05	00	00
,, Charged on him for Mr. Samuel Phillips ..	15	00	00
The sum total received	142	06	00

The Disbursements of Capt. Robert Sandford.	£	s.	d.
Imp. Paid Mr. John Phillips, Clericus	61	16	00
It. Expenses at London to procure the Briefs, etc.	03	15	06
,, Paid William Elliots	15	00	00
,, Paid Edward Lye	12	10	00
,, Paid Daniel (? Joe)	10	00	00
,, Paid John Niblet	7	10	00
,, Paid Charles Wood	10	00	00
,, Paid Richard Wright	17	10	00
,, Paid Joseph Pegler	2	10	00
,, Paid ye charges at Richard Wright's ..	00	17	00
,, Paid Mr. Sheppard's clarke	00	2	00
,, Lost by bad money	00	4	00
The sum total disbursed is	141	14	06
Then resteth in ye Capt's. hand	000	11	06

If we assume that the purchasing power of the shilling was ten times greater then, than it is this year of grace, it will be seen that the amount collected was equivalent to about £1400 of present money.

Several of the personal names, as Elliots, Wright, Wood, Niblett, Phillips and Pegler still survive in or about the parish.

THE OLD CHURCH HOUSE.

My last note on this occasion will concern the old Church House. Though old when barbarously pulled

[1] Lemington, near Tewkesbury.

down early in the 19th century, it was new enough in the year of its erection, 1502, far back in the reign of Henry VII. Notwithstanding the claim of the monks it must have stood, I think, not on priory ground, but on a bit of the Lord's waste, as it was subsequently claimed as a "parcel of the manor." (*Augmentation Court MSS.*, P.R.O.) How it was built by the Abbot of Gloucester, and formally handed over at an annual rent of ten shillings to the Churchwardens for the use of the parish, and how it contained a "Paradise Chamber," (probably so called because hung with tapestry displaying the Garden of Eden with Adam and Eve and their attendant animals all harmony and peace), this I have told elsewhere. In that chamber during fair-time the Abbot and the Prior and other merry monks would assemble to watch from its open windows the fun of the fair at Swithuntide in every mid-July, and there as the fun waxed furious they would enjoy a simple collation with a possible draught of ruby *Vernaccia*, perhaps brought out to them across the churchyard from the Priory by old Simon the Cellarer himself. But with the Dissolution and the coming in of the Puritans fun was no longer possible, and the old Church House languished for the lack of it. Few are the references which I find made to it in succeeding ages. I append here a list of all I have discovered in various chance and unexpected quarters,—all the churchwardens' books which might have told us more having disappeared altogether, if some of them are not lying *perdu*, disdained and forgotten, in loft or attic.

1. In June, 1502, Thomas by the Grace of God Abbot hands over the Church House "newly built" to the parish.

2. In Gloucester Cathedral, once the Abbey Church, is preserved a copy of the deed in Latin.

3. In the possession of Miss Denison Jones of the Grange, Leonard Stanley, there is another copy in contemporary English.

4. Sometime in Elizabeth's reign the Church House was in the hands of the Crown "as a parcel of the manor" owing I think to some mistake, and John Chapman had it. (*Augmentation Leases*, P.R.O.)

5. On the 8th May, 1605 it was similarly granted to Jasper Selwyn for 40 years at a rent of 8 shillings a year (*Ibid.*).

6. It came back to the parish in 1669. John Sandford (Impropriator) being then Churchwarden accounts for the chief rent, namely 10s., five shillings of the sum having been paid at Michaelmas and five at Easter. (*Note-book of the Sandfords*).

7. In 1678 I find another entry as follows:—

"Paid for mending the Church House and for stones £00 10 06" (*Ibid.*, the churchwardens being Thomas Woodward and John Cliffe).

8. From about this date down to the year 1748, the chief rent of ten shillings was regularly paid by the Churchwardens (*Estate Accounts, penes* Jones' Trust).

9. It was about this time or soon after that the Church House was handed over to the Overseers of the Poor, and became the Poor House of the parish, as to which more anon.

10. In 1795, Mr. William Stock, Overseer of the Poor, disbursed 8s. 7½d. for work at ye Church House.

This is the latest reference which I have found. But now I must return to the time when it became the Poor House.

From the middle of the 18th century to the beginning of the 19th there was living at Leonard Stanley quite a character. His dwellinghouse still stands—an ancient Cotswold house, now divided into three or four tenements, at the top of Seven Waters. His name was Benjamin Wood. He was not a physician and he was not a surgeon, but he practised as both, and though illiterate his credit stood high and his skill was unquestioned by the people.

He was quite a Sangrado. The axiom of his professional life was simple. It was an article of faith with him that if you wish to build you must first demolish. His sheet anchors were inveterate purging and frequent bleeding. He left a singularly curious day-book behind him in which the Church House plays a part and from that book I shall now make certain extracts, first premising that I take no liberty with the good man's orthography which all through is peculiarly and amusingly his own. Let us start with the furnishing of his dispensary:—

1. October 31, 1758, more things had of Mr. Tepets one ounce of oil of origanum one Pound of Globler Salts one Paper of Pill Boxes ten Dosen and eight Viel Corkes Feberuary the 24, 1759. This is all pad for
one Grose more of Viel Corkes at 4 Penies a Grose the sum totel of Mr. tipetes is 0. 8. 2.

2. october the 5 1759 Mr. tepets Sent me the fowling things

2 ounces of Jallop

4 ounces of ungt altha

5 ounces of Electre Lenim

November 14 1759 I had one Pund of Globler Salts halef a Paper of chipe Boxes

November the 16 two ounces of Cort Peruviane

December the 26 1759 4 ounces more of Cort Peruviane

one ounce of Salts of wormwood

one ounce of Hiria Pickra

halef an ounce of Pill ex Dorbus.

halef a Pund of Comon Manna of Mr. Tepets

a Quarter of an ounce of Crosese Subliment.

Let us now accompany our medico on a few of his professional visits to the Church House:—

1. october the 3 1755, for a paper of powder for Sarow Benet ye old woman in the Church House for the ague by order of Mr. hemen. 0. 1. 0.

2. July 23 1762 a large botel of Pectrel Mixtur for Sarhow Beard in the Church House by order of farmer Dangerfield 0. 2. 6.

3. January 3 1763 a botel of fever mixtur for Betsy flecher in the Church House—0. 2. 6.

4. october 23 1765 a Purge for Hanow Blanch at the Church House wen she Cam out from the Small Pox Landlord Pagler—0. 0. 9.

5. July the 4 1766 for Bleding Dame Jaikes in the Church House by the order of Mr. Beard 0. 0. 6.

6. october 17 1766 a draught for Nancy Young in the Church House 0. 0. 6.

7. Dec. 4 1767 for Bleding Hanow Young in the Church House—0. 0. 6. the 5th botel of mixtur for her—0. 1. 6.

8. November 10 1768 for curing a tumor in Lame Beards wife (in her arme) in ye Church House Leonard Stanley—0. 5. 0.

9. Feb. 2, 1774 for things for Nancy Young's boy and for Bug Bean for Dame Jackes in the Church House —0. 2. 6.

10. January the 8 1787 for Bleding Cox in the Church House—0. 0. 6.

When small pox was raging he took a small house still standing under the wood above the church in connection with his work. The following entry speaks of it.

April the 10 1758 I took Mr Panes Howse in the wood for Inoculation at five and thirty shilings a year I gave a shiling in Ernest. April the 17 Mr Pane sent me the kee of the Howse my Rent be Gins from this Day.

The following two entries afford just a glimpse of the worthy man's home:—

1. 1765 Work done by Barber fenik of Lenerd Stanley
one day to make the sparrow Gras bead.
one Day and a halef to make the walk in the Cort.
one Day to cut the Treas.

one Day to make the flower bead.

2. 1763 october the 15 our Made Ester Came to life with us She had a shiling Ernest. November the 7 Ester had one Shiling. November the 17 She had Seven Penies more the 23 she had five Penies More

December the 8 Pad for a Yeard of Serge for her—00. 1. 8.

January the 22 1764 for a Pare of Stays for Her—0. 10. 0.

Many were Mr. Benjamin Wood's visits to the Church House of which he appears to have been the appointed medical man. Several of the leaves at the end of his book are, however, missing, the latest entry bearing date December 20th, 1793. A product of the times, he seems to have been an eccentric worthy, and notwithstanding his colossal ignorance and his drastic methods he left behind him a good report. He was buried at Leonard Stanley on the 19th September, 1803 (*Parish Register*).

In the regrettable absence of the Churchwardens' books for the 19th century the date of the destruction of the Church House is unknown, though as its chief rent was payable to the lord of the manor the information may lie among the later manorial records. Parsons, writing at the end of the 17th century, mentions it as standing at the edge of the then churchyard (MS. at the Bodleian). There was no real necessity to destroy so venerable a place to add to the ground, but destroyed it was, and the aged sick and poor were moved to another asylum close to the present Church of England Day School, to a dwellinghouse now mainly occupied by a man bearing the historic name of *Basset*.

CHURCHWARDEN'S Account of 1669 in which the CHURCH HOUSE is twice mentioned:—

MEMO. laid out when I [John Sandford] was Churchwarden in 1669.

Exp^{d} for the King's bench and Marshall	..	..	0 06 06
Exp^{d} at three several times for distressed people		..	0 03 00
Exp^{d} for the mending of bell to J^{no} Walkly	..	..	0 05 00

Exp^{d} to poore peple in distres	0	00	10
Exp^{d} for 5 quorts of Clarrett for the faiyre Exp^{d} for bread at the same time 4^{d}	0	05	08
Exp^{d} for the King's bench and Marshall	0	06	06
Exp^{d} for church house rent at Mich.	0	05	00
Exp^{d} for the keeping the clocke	0	03	04
Exp^{d} for lime and heare (hair) to the (tiler)	0	07	02
Exp^{d} for lime of my owne	0	00	05
Exp^{d} for workmanship to the tiler	0	02	00
Exp^{d} for the King's bench and Marshall	0	06	06
Exp^{d} for bred and wine for the sacrament	0	04	10
Exp^{d} for the reparing of the church at the lower end thareof for timber and work	0	07	02
Exp^{d} for 2 Sacraments	0	09	08
Exp^{d} for keeping the clocke	0	03	04
Exp^{d} for the King's bench and Marshall	0	06	06
Exp^{d} for the church house rent	0	05	00

From John Sandford's MS. book.

NOTE.

The confusion regarding the right to the rent of ten shillings for the Church House may be thus explained.

In 1502 when the Abbot of Gloucester and the Prior of Stanley granted the Church House to the parish at a rent of 10s. payable to the Prior, there was an open stream running down outside the Churchyard. That stream had been evidently regarded as the true boundary of the Priory-land at that point time out of mind. But between the stream and the churchyard there was a narrow strip of waste land, and on that strip the house had been built.

When the manor passed into the hands of the Crown (*temp.* Elizabeth) that strip and the Church House upon it were claimed as parcel of the manor, and the rent diverted from the Impropriators to the Exchequer. Then when the manor was sold by the Crown to William Whitmore (*temp.* James I) he, as lord of the manor, claimed the rent. The question remains, notwithstanding Atkyns—Was Sir Anthony Kingston himself ever lord of the manor? The time at my disposal for the preparation of this paper is so limited that I cannot as yet answer that question.

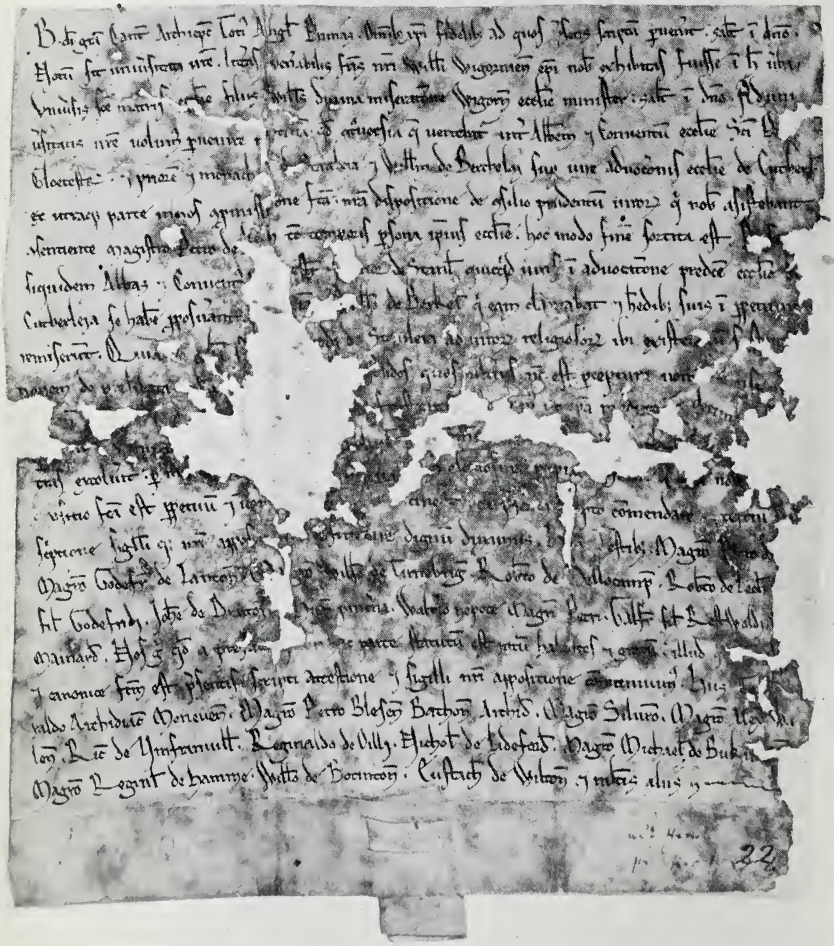
Appendix.

[MS. Gloucestershire Charters 21: Bodleian Library].

Bishop Northale's Notification.

Date February, 1188.

Notum sit omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis quod controuersia que uertebatur inter Abbatem et Conuentum ecclesie sancti petri Gloec' et priorem et monachos de stanleia et Willelmum de berkeleia super iure aduocationis ecclesie de Cudberleia facta ex utraque parte compromissione in dominum Willelmum Wigorn' episcopum ipso dictante et ordinante et Magistro petro de Lech' tunc persona ipsius ecclesie presente et assensum prebente sub tali pacis forma sopita est. Prefati siquidem Abbas et conuentus Gloec.' et Prior de Stanleia quicquid iuris in aduocacione predicte ecclesie de cudberleia se habere proponebant prenominato Willelmo de berkeleia qui eam clamabat et heredibus suis in perpetuum remiserunt. Quia uero ecclesia Sancti Leonardi de Stanleia ad uirorum religiosorum ibi existentium sustentacionem de prelibata ecclesia de Cudberleia Quinque solidos nomine pensionis Annuatim percipere solebat ne suo penitus commodo frustraretur statuit memoratus episcopus assensu et uoluntate sepedicti Willelmi de berkeleia ut ipsa medietatem decimarum frugum terre totius dominii eiusdem Willelmi de berkeleia et omnium cotariorum suorum in Cudberleia quicumque terras ipsas excoluerit, per manus propriorum seruientium in perpetuam elemosinam percipiat. Ut autem hec concordia rata et inconuulsa inter eos in posterum permaneat diuiso inter eos cyrographo sigillisque suis appositis. hinc inde confirmata est. His testibus. Radulfo Abbate de Winchec'. Magistro petro de Lech'. Johanne decano Gloec.' Magistro Godefrido de Lanton.' Magistro Willelmo de Tunebrug' Roberto de Bellocampo. Ricardo de Wiretteb.' Willelmo filio Step-



Archbishop Baldwyn's Inspeximus of a Charter of William de Northale, Bishop of Worcester. (Bodleian Library.)

Facing Page 267.

hani vicecomite Gloec.' Rogero de Berkeleia et Rogero et Philippo et Oliuero militibus et Roberto clerico filiis suis. Ricardo de Aldrintuna. Ricardo clerico v . . . Gloec.' Arnaldo Duning ' et Arnaldo filio eius. Adam rufo. Waltero cok'. Willelmo de Botint.' Roberto de Bertuna. Gaufrido de Lillet.' Hamone Carbunel et Roberto fratre eius. Nicholao de Rudes. Roberto Testard.

[*Endorsed*] Cuthberleye.

[*Seal now missing*].

[*The following notes are written against this charter, by a modern hand*].

Ralph 1183-1194.

[MS. Glouc. Charters 22].

Bishop William de Northale's Charter and Archbishop Baldwyn's Confirmation thereof.

Date end of February, 1188.

B. Dei gracia Cant' archiepiscopus totius anglie Primas omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit: salutem in domino. Notum sit uniuersitati uestre. litteras venerabilis fratris nostri Willelmi Wigorniensis episcopi nobis exhibitas fuisse in hec uerba. Vniuersis sancte matris ecclesie filiis Willelmus diuina miseratione Wigorn' ecclesie minister salutem in domino. Ad uniuersitatis nostre uolumus peruenire noticiam quod controuersia que uertebatur inter Abbatem et Conuentum ecclesie Sancti Petri Gloecestr' et priorem et monachos de Stanleia et Willelmum de Berchelaia super iure aduocacionis ecclesie de Cutberleia. ex utraque parte in nos compromissione facta nostra dispositione de consilio prudentium uirorum qui nobis asistebant consentiente Magistro Petro de Lech' tunc temporis persona ipsius ecclesie hoc modo finem sortita est. Prefati siquidem Abbas et Conuentus Gloectr' et prior de Stanleia quicquid iuris in aduocatione predicte ecclesie de Cutberleia se habere proposuerant [prenom]ina[to]. Willelmo

de Berkeleia qui eam clamabat et heredibus suis in perpetuum remiserunt. Quia[ver]o ecclesia [Sancti Leona]rdi de Stanleia ad uirorum religiosorum ibi existentium sustentationem de prælibata ecclesia [de Cudberleia quinque.] . solidos quos ulterius nunc non est perceptura nomine pensionis [annua]tim [ne suo penitus commo] do frustraretur nos [statuim]us ut ipsa medietat[em] decim[arum frugum totius dominii eiusdem Willelmi de] Berkeleia [et omnium . . . cotariorum suorum in Cudberleia quicumque] terras excoluerit per m[anus propriorum servientium in perpetua]m elemosinam percipiat [Ut autem hec] nobis [compo]sitio facta perpetuua et incon[uulsa perm]aneat eam presenti [scri]pto commendare at[que] testium [sub]scriptione sigillique nostri appos[itione] confirmare dignum duximus. Hiis Testibus. Magistro Petro de[Lech'] Magistro Godefrido de Lanton' Magistro Willelmo de Tunebrig' Roberto de Bellocamp.' Roberto de Lech' . . . . filio Godefridi. Johanne de Dratton' Hugone pincerna. Walterio nepote Magistri Petri. Galfrido filio Restwoldi . . . . Mainard.' Nos igitur quod a prefa[ta] [carta]inhac parte statutum est ratum habentes et gratum illud qui juste et canonice factum est presentis scripti attes[ta]tione et sigilli nostri appositione communivimus. Hiis Testibus [Gi]raldo Archidiacono Menenensi. Magistro Petro Blesen' Bathon' Archidiacono. Magistro Siluestro. Magistro Alexandro Walen' Ricardo de Umfranuilla. Reginaldo de Oilli. Nicholao de Lideford,' Magistro Michaele de Buke[landa] Magistro Reginaldo de Hamma Willelmo de Botintona Eustachio de Wiltona et multis aliis.

[*Note in a modern hand*:—] ult Hen. II or pr. Ric. I.

[MS. Glouc. Charters 23].

ABBOT THOMAS CARBONEL'S CHARTER.

Date, not much later than 1188.

Notum sit omnibus quod ego Thomas dei gracia Abbas et Conuentus Ecclesie Sancti Petri Gloec.' [quod] concessimus

Roberto clerico nepoti Magistri Petri de Lech' Archidiaconi Wigorn' medietatem decimarum frugum totius dominii Willelmi de Berkelai et cotariorum suorum in Cudberleia que pertinet ad ecclesiam Sancti Leonardi de Stanleia . tenendam de nobis pro uita sua tantum pro dimidia marca argenti Priori de Stanleia annuatim reddenda his terminis ad festum Sancti Michaelis xl.d. et ad Annunciacionem Beate Marie. xl.d. Idem uero Robertus juravit [quod fideli]s erit ecclesie nostre . . . . . .o tenemento. Et quod . . . . . ? unde ecclesia Sancti Leonardi de Stanleia de prefatis decimis aut dampnum aut impedimentum in curia [salvaretur]. In cujus [rei] testimonium presentis cyrographi [dicto Roberto unam] partem sigillo nostro munitam tradidimus. Alteram uero partem sigillo pre[fati] Archidiaconi [robor]atam penes nos h[abuim]us.

ST. MARY REDCLIFFE, BRISTOL.

By Harold Brakspear, F.S.A.

(With Plan).

As the late Dr. Norris aptly remarks at the beginning of his small book on Redcliffe Church.[1]

> "Record in stone, record in writings—these are the two sources of information to which the student of Church architecture looks hopefully. If both are truthful and trustworthy, all is well. But how if one or both be untruthful and untrustworthy? What is he then to do?"

Anyone trying to elucidate the history of this noble building is met at all points by ridiculous statements of no authority whatever and when he turns to the building itself, expecting it to tell its own tale, he finds every inch of masonry has either been renewed or scraped beyond recognition. The written fables can be rejected for what they are worth, but the wholesale destruction of the building inside and out cannot be passed over with equal equanimity. Words cannot express the feeling of indignation at the useless desecration that has been perpetrated in the cause of so called restoration, even fifty years after the mischief has been done.

There was a great church at Redcliffe in the twelfth century, but when it was begun is impossible now to say. The east end would be the first part to be erected and the whole would be carried on slowly to the west end. The north porch of this church fortunately remains almost intact and it certainly is not a day later than 1190. The side walls are panelled with pointed arches resting on detached columns having carved capitals with square

[1] Norris (Dr. J. P.), *Church of St. Mary, Redcliffe.* Bristol, 1882.

abacii. The outer arch has a number of detached columns in the jambs, and the porch is vaulted. There is a parvise above with a two light window in a steep gable over the entrance. The church had a nave approximately the same width as the present building and was vaulted throughout, the wall ribs of the main span still shew in the south wall of the tower.

Parish churches throughout the land have grown from the original building to what they now are and there is no known case in the middle ages of the ground being first cleared of the older work when a church had to be rebuilt. If a great scheme of enlarging or rebuilding was undertaken the last thing to be done was the alteration of the existing church. A church was in daily use and services had to be performed in it during the whole time it was being altered, so that some part of the building had always to be fit for divine service. It is necessary to remember this in tracing the development of this or any other ancient church. However uniform the design of a completed building may be, it grew to that uniformity by a series of additions and did not become so by one act of building straight from the foundation.

There were many parish churches begun in the twelfth century, but in populous neighbourhoods none remain to us in anything like the same form in which they were conceived. The large town churches of this and the next century invariably consisted of a chancel, transepts, nave and central tower, sometimes with aisles to certain parts and sometimes without; but the transeptral plan with a central tower may be safely claimed to have been universal and there is no reason to suppose that St. Mary Redcliffe was any exception to the rule.

The general fate of a central tower of early days was sooner or later to fall down and this is exactly what I believe happened at Redcliffe. If the central tower had not fallen there was no reason to have built the present

tower in the thirteenth century to an already completed church. Where a central tower fell it is usually found that its successor was erected so that the same catastrophe should not occur again. Sometimes the new tower was built entirely separate from the church, but more often it was attached to the end of a transept or to the west end of the nave. In such a position three walls of the tower could be built solidly from the foundations instead of on four detached pillars. A late example of this occurs at Calne Church in Wiltshire where the central tower fell in 1638 and the new tower was built at the end of the north transept.

Barrett records[1] that there were indulgences in his hands granted towards the building of the church, one in 1232, two in 1246, one in 1278, and one in 1287 and as they were in Latin there is no possibility of Chatterton being the author. I have shewn that the original church was not finished before 1190 and it is obvious that no serious repairs could have been required so soon as 1232, but with the fall of the central tower the urgency of repair would account for this method of raising money. I take it the first indulgence was given directly after the calamity occurred, for mending the damage to the church itself, and the four later indulgences were presumably to aid the building of the new tower, which shews by its architectural evidence was a slow process.

Nothing remains to shew how the damage to the church was made good, but I am inclined to think that the transepts were done away with and the side walls of the nave and quire were joined together in a straight line. I am led to this conclusion from two reasons, first that when the present north transept was set out the south wall of its crypt was in line with the outer wall of the original north aisle, and secondly the space from the westernmost pair of pillars in the presbytery to the easternmost pair of pillars

[1] Barrett (William, F.S.A.), *History of Bristol*, p. 567.

in the nave is equal in length to three bays of the nave, and this could hardly have been the case had transepts intervened when the new work was set out. Further, as the fall of the central tower was probably due to failure in the north transept, caused by the irregularity of its foundations, it is reasonable to suppose that any chance of further trouble from the same cause would be eliminated in the new work, which would accordingly be kept entirely on the top of the rock forming the higher ground on which the church was built.

The work of mending the church would be carried out as quickly as possible. The new tower was begun at the west end of the north aisle, as there was no room for it between the west end of the nave and the street, but was only carried up one storey. It was then covered by a flat lead roof, the groove for the flashing of which still shews above the floor of the ringing chamber, and then building work ceased for a considerable time.

In the Mayor's Kalendar compiled in 1479 by Robert Ricart, the town clerk, is an entry under the year 1294, which has been quoted and believed in by nearly every writer on the subject, to the effect that "this yere the aforesayd Simon Burton began to build Redclyf Church." The church itself clearly shews that no such building ever took place, but we must be grateful to Dr. Norris for first pointing out that this entry is an insertion in the original book of apparently seventeenth century date.[1]

The church appears to have had some relic of Our Lady, of more than usual importance, presented to it towards the end of the thirteenth century. The church being a parish church the space within was limited and a number of pilgrims to the relic passing in and out would have been inconvenient. It was therefore necessary to house the relic in a position where a number of pilgrims could be easily dealt with, and the splendid addition to the north porch was the result.

[1] Dr. Norris, *The Church of St. Mary Redcliffe*, p. 9.

In the second quarter of the fourteenth century the south aisle of the nave was begun to be rebuilt, with the new wall outside the old, and provided for vaulting like its predecessor. The south porch was added at the same time and appears to have been stopped by the scourge of the Black Death in 1349. The date of the work is proved by the monumental recesses in the three eastern bays, which though virtually modern are a restoration of what was found. They are so like the recesses in prior Knowle's work at the cathedral that they cannot possibly be later than 1340.[1] Another feature which should be noticed is the different section of the plinths of this aisle and porch from the rest of the church.

The next effort of the parishioners of Redcliffe was one to fill us with admiration at the present time. The twelfth century church, by the middle of the fourteenth century, had probably become in a bad condition and out of fashion, as the narrow windows did not allow for the display of painted glass which was then the vogue. So instead of humbly inserting new windows in the old walls in the manner of their poorer neighbours the Redcliffe folk determined to rebuild the whole church from one end to the other upon a magnificent scale. The earlier building tied the width of the main span but beyond this the ideas of the designers were allowed full sway. Only one other parish church, that of Patrington in Yorkshire, had been erected with double aisled transepts but the chancel there has no aisles, whereas Redcliffe was to have, besides the double aisles to the transepts, double aisles to the chancel and an eastern chapel besides.

There is no information when this work was begun but from a careful study of the character of the building, and comparison with dated examples elsewhere, there can be little doubt it was started about 1355 when the country had recovered from the dislocation caused by the Black

[1] Edmund Knowle was prior from 1306 to 1332.

Death. How the work was carried out is the most interesting question in connexion with the church though now very difficult to answer owing to the hopeless scraping and making new of all the masonry.

The old church had to remain in daily use till part of the new one was ready, so that the new walls outside the line of the old work would be first set out and carried up gradually to the existing building, before any considerable part of that structure was disturbed.

It is certain that the whole of the new building was contemplated from its first conception and set out at one time.

This mediæval setting out was not such an easy matter as it sounds, the old church would be standing in the midst of the new proposals, the new work had to join up with the old before the latter was taken down and the different thickness of the new walls had to be allowed for. If any irregularities in the setting out of the old work occurred they generally influenced the new. Slight irregularities always occur in setting out a building, even on a clear site, so it is saying great things for the builders of Redcliffe, when, with the exception of the east wall of the presbytery, the whole is set out with mathematical precision.

When enlargements of churches were made necessitating encroachment on the grave-yard, many graves had of necessity to be disturbed and the first thought of the builders was to provide a place for the disposal of the bones. Nearly every church in a populous neighbourhood has, or has had, a bone hole for this purpose and most of the great abbeys had carnaria which consisted of a bone hole under a chapel with priests attached to it for celebrating masses for the repose of the dead.

At Redcliffe, advantage was taken of the drop in the level of the site of the north transept to form a large bone

hole within the foundations which had to be carried down to the lower level.

In consequence of the necessity of such a chamber, it is obvious that the crypt of the north transept was the first part of the new building to be erected, in order to take the bones disturbed by the other work, but the transept was not for the moment built up higher than necessary for making the bone hole.

The first section of the work to be carried to completion was the south transept and this was finished at its north end with a straight joint against the nave and chancel walls of the old church, as can still be traced.

The eastern Lady chapel and the presbytery would then be proceeded with up to the walls of the existing church and even the new columns would be built within the old church, before any appreciable amount of it was taken down. The eastern chapel was at first intended to have been of only one bay in length, but was afterwards extended to the boundary of the churchyard and a procession path provided under the added bay. This alteration appears to have been done during the execution of the works as otherwise it is not possible that the plinths and mouldings generally would have been so faithfully copied.

Work was going on here in 1385 as John Stanes desired to be buried in the new chapel of the church of "Redeclyve" by the tomb of his late wife Joan and he left 40s. to the fabric if he was allowed sepulchre and only 20s if he was denied. There are two other wills of the same time leaving money to this chapel.[1]

As the main span of the church is considerably wider than the transepts, and the springers of the main vaults are level, it was necessary to carry up the walls of the presbytery higher than those of the completed transept.

The north transept was built earlier than the western part of the presbytery as the work could be carried up on

[1] Wadley (Rev. T. P.), *Book of Wills*, Bristol, 1886, p. 14.

the crypt without waiting for the removal of any part of the old church, which is shewn by the similarity of detail to the south transept and the difference from that of the presbytery.

Over the crossing the main walls were continued up in the form of a tower to cover the junction of the steep roofs over the main spans, as was done at Beverley minster and Westminster abbey, but there is no evidence whatever that this was ever intended for a lantern open to the church.

As soon as the presbytery was finished it could then be used for service and the nave could be proceeded with at leisure. At this point the Mayor's Kalendar must again be referred to as it contains under the year 1376 a statement that:—

"This yere William Canynges builded the bodye of Redclyf Church from the cross Isle downewarde. And so ye Church was ffynished as it is nowe." This is also stated by Dr. Norris to be an insertion of the 17th century and so mere tradition[1]; but unlike the story of Burton it may have had some foundation, as building operations were in full swing during the life time of William Canynges the elder.

It is certain however he did not build the nave, but may have contributed to it, like so many others at this time who left legacies in their wills for the fabric of the church.

The south west angle of the old church with its vice was retained in the new work together with the core of the west wall.

It is doubtful if the south aisle begun before the Black Death was ever completed until its turn came in the great remodelling. The upper parts differ considerably from the other aisles, most particularly in the windows being four-centered and fitting the curve of the vaulting.

The whole church is vaulted in stone and the vaults

[1] Dr. Norris, *Redcliff Church*, p. 9.

seem to have been completed with the different sections of the work and not added appreciably later. The vault of the presbytery and nave was provided for from the bases of the piers and each rib is there represented by a bead which follows up the entire vaulting shaft until taken up by the vaulting ribs. The only similar example of this treatment I know is in the Beauchamp chapel at Warwick which was begun about 1440.

Though the great rebuilding could not have been finished much before the end of the fourteenth century we find that the parishioners of Redcliffe were hard at it again by the middle of the next century.

The whole of the clerestory windows of the presbytery, nave and north transept were removed and larger ones, that do not fit the vaults, inserted. The walls inside the presbytery and nave above the arcades were panelled, and externally, above the window arches, the transepts were raised to the same height as the presbytery and nave and all the steep roofs were dropped. The open parapet which surrounds the upper parts of the church seems to have survived from the fourteenth century building. In the raising of the transepts the south transept vault was not interfered with but that in the north transept has been altered next the side walls to jump up over the inserted windows.

The work was in hand during the life-time of William Worcester, that excellent Bristol antiqnary, who seems to have spent his time in stepping the sizes of the various great churches he visited and he throws some interesting lights upon this building. The lodgings of the workmen were on Redcliffe Hill and the master mason was named Norton.[1]

In 1445 it is stated in Adams's Chronicle that "Redclife steeple in Bristoll was thrown down by a thunder clap,

[1] *William Wyrcestre* (Mirror office, 1834), p. 64.

which did much harm also in other places."[1] This event is also referred to by Worcester, though he does not commit himself to the thunder clap, and he gives the sizes of the tower and spire after the catastrophe occurred.

It is not my intention to give an exhaustive description of the architectural details of this wonderful church but rather to try and point out those features which help to indicate, if only slightly, the appearance of this great church before the Reformation.

The church then consisted, as it does to-day, of an eastern Lady chapel of two bays flanked by two stair turrets; a presbytery of five bays, with aisles; a north transept of three bays, with aisles east and west, over a crypt under the two northern bays; a south transept of similar size; a nave of six bays, with aisles; north and south porches and a great tower, occupying two bays at the west end of the north aisle.

A church open from end to end as Redcliffe is now was unknown, no idea of vistas and other pictorial effects ever entered the minds of the designers. A church was intended for the worship of God and not to form pretty pictures for the artist. So we always find a screen where it was wanted, chapels where they were convenient, monuments where their occupiers fancied, without any consideration being given to what features they might hide or obstruct. Instead of the bare shell we now see, the church was full of screens, furniture, ornaments and colour, on walls and in windows and it is now difficult to imagine the rich and georgeous effect that the whole produced.

The building allowed for seven altars in chapels formed by the structure but there were probably a great many more. In the great church at Ludlow in Shropshire there were at least eleven chapels formed by screens in the nave alone, and I am convinced if the Bristol walls

[1] Adams's *Chronicle of Bristol*, Bristol, 1910, p. 66.

generally were studied that St. Mary Redcliffe would be found to have contained many more altars than those we now know.

The chapel at the east end is generally known as the Lady chapel and here we have the authority of William Worcester that it was so called in his day. It has been pointed out by my old friend the late Sir William Hope that it is a mistake always to suppose that these eastern chapels were hallowed in honour of Our Lady, especially when the church itself was dedicated to her honour. Probably here, as at Worcester Cathedral, many of the services in connexion with Our Lady were performed at this altar though the altar itself was probably dedicated in honour of some other saint. Nothing remains of the original fittings, even the piscina which must have been in the south wall has been restored away. Across the arch of entrance would have been a screen and this appears to have remained in part until 1709, as Barrett states that before the Queen Anne altar piece was then erected, in the middle of the passage from aisle to aisle was "the entrance at two folding doors into the Lady's chapel."[1]

The easternmost bay of the presbytery was left partly open for the Sunday procession and the reredos of the high altar was slightly to the east of the present one. The original reredos reached to above the arcade arches and would be richly panelled with niches containing imagery, like that at Christchurch in Hampshire. The height is shewn by the blocked doorways which led into a gallery that crossed the church at the top of the reredos. This gallery was apparently for easy access to any ornaments or relics which may have been placed there. At St. Mary Redcliffe it was certainly not often necessary to use this gallery as the only means of access, so far as can be seen, was through a hole in the aisle roof.

From the reredos westward the three side arches are

[1] Barrett's *History of Bristol*, p. 574.

filled with open stone screens and there are doorways in the middle ones forming the upper entrances to the quire. There is no doubt the western bay of the presbytery contained the quire stalls, which would have solid screens at the back in line with the open screens in the other bays.

Under the eastern arch of the crossing was the Rood screen, the position of which is confirmed by William Worcester who states that the tower over the crossing was at the west entrance of the chancel.[1] In parish churches the Rood screen was universal and its character was an open screen, generally of wood, with a vaulted coving at the top supporting a loft which had an ornamental parapet towards the church. There was always a staircase of access to the loft from the church but no evidence of it remains here. Old views of the church shew the inner members of the side arches of the crossing stopped about the level of the springer of the arcades, which may indicate the height of the loft. Over the screen was a beam from wall to wall carrying the Rood which always had the supporting figures of Our Lady and St. John on either side.

In connexion with the presbytery must be mentioned the Easter Sepulchre. This feature in the early part of the fourteenth century was an integral part of the structure but by the middle of the century the fashion changed and it then became a moveable piece of furniture. Such was the sepulchre at Redcliffe which is described in a document said to be preserved in the safe but I have not seen it myself. According to Britton it is as follows:—

Item. That Maister Canynge hath deliver'd this 4th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1470, to Maister Nicholas Petters, vicar of St. Mary Redcliffe; Moses Conterin, Philip Barthelmew, procurators of St. Mary Redcliffe, aforesaid; a new sepulchre well gilt with golde, and a civer thereto.

[1] *William Wyrcestre*, (Bristol, 1834), p. 64.

Item, An image of God Almighty rising out of the same sepulchre, with all the ordinance that 'longeth thereto, (that is to say) a lathe made of timber and the iron-work thereto.

Item, Thereto 'longeth Heaven, made of timber and stain'd clothes.

Item, Hell made of timber, and iron-work thereto, with Divels to the number of 13.

Item, 4 Knights armed, keeping the sepulchre, with their weapons in their hands; that is to say, 2 axes and 2 spears with 2 pavés.

Item, 4 payr of Angels' wings for 4 Angels, made of timber and well painted.

Item, The Fadre, the Crowne and Visage, the ball with a Cross upon it, well gilt with fine gould.

Item, The Holy Ghosht coming out of Heaven into the sepulchre.

Item, Longeth to the 4 Angels 4 Chevelers.[1]

In front of the High Altar are two large slabs containing brasses.

The northern marks the resting place of John Brook and Johanna his wife, of whom the former died on Christmas day, 1521. At each corner of the slab was a shield of arms and in the centre the figures of a man and woman under which is a long inscription.

The southern has badges at the corners, and under canopies the figures of a man and woman with fourteen children and an inscription to John Jay and Johanna his wife, who was a sister of William Worcester. He died 1480 and willed to be buried in the quire of Redcliffe church for which he gave 20s.[2]

The aisles of the presbytery were merely procession paths but at the east end of each were chapels. That on the north contained the altar of St. Stephen and was the Chantry of the Mede family.

[1] *Redcliffe Church*, by John Britton (Lond. 1813), p. 27.
[2] *Bristol Wills*, p. 142.

The chapel would be surrounded by screens across the aisle and under the easternmost arch of the presbytery; both screens must have had doorways to enable the Sunday procession to pass.

The whole of the north side of the chapel is occupied by a very fine monument consisting of two deep recesses under a richly panelled canopy. The western recess contains effigies of Thomas Mede and his wife with an imperfect label of brass along the edge of the pedestal recording that he died on the 20th day of December, 1475. His will is not among those registered at Bristol but he seems to have founded a perpetual chantry at the altar of this chapel. The eastern recess has no effigies but has at the back a brass with the figures of a man and woman and had a brass plate beneath for the inscription which has gone. It is reputed to commemorate Philip, Thomas Mede's brother, who directs in his will that his body be buried by the altar of St. Stephen the Martyr in Redcliffe Church to the fabric of which church he left a pipe of woad.[1]

Mede's chantry was one of the four that remained in this church at the suppression of chantries and the last priest was Bernard Ferris who had a pension of £5.[2]

The corresponding chapel at the east end of the south aisle is said to have contained the altar of St. Nicholas but I can find no authority for this. In 1401 Walter Newcombe "directed to be buried at Redeclyve in the chapel of St. Nicholas" and in 1418 his wife Alice desired "to be buried in the chapel of St. Nicholas within the church of the Blessed Mary of Redcliff."[3]

Opposite the upper entrance of the quire on the north side is the entrance to the vestry, of the same date as the aisle. This entrance is figured by Britton and the

[1] *Bristol Wills*, p. 157.
[2] *Mitred Abbeys*, by Browne Willis, ii, p. 88.
[3] *Bristol Wills*, pp. 68 and 101.

present work seems to be a copy of the original; over the door are two niches with panelled pedestals but the canopies have not been restored. The vestry has a piscina in the south wall and would have had an altar against the east side. The window over the altar has pateræ in the hollows of the jambs and mullions and contains some 15th century glass much defaced. In the north wall is said to have been a fireplace but it is not likely to have been original and is now destroyed by a staircase to the crypt formed in the thickness of the wall. In the south west angle is a vice to a room above, which has an original fireplace in the north wall but no indication of it being a dwelling for a priest as so often stated. There is a small quatrefoiled squint into the aisle. The vice is continued upwards to the leads of the aisle roof.

Under the vestry is a vaulted chamber which has not been restored but there is no indication of how it was originally entered, or what was its use.

Between the vestry and the transept is a room added later to enlarge the vestry and the three-light window in the north wall contains some old glass. In the western light is a masted ship containing seven ladies which may be part of a picture of St. Ursula. In the middle light is the figure of a dove and two angels playing on musical instruments belonging to a Trinity and in the eastern light a fragment of a figure of St. Blaise, with a wool comb, and beneath a merchant's badge on a shield.

At the present time there are stone screens, similar to those on each side the presbytery, across the aisles in line with the east wall of the transept aisles but they are not in their original position and are not shewn on Britton's plan They seem ancient and were possibly removed from the transept arcade where they would have formed entrances into the presbytery aisles.

The eastern aisles of the transepts were occupied by chapels, two on each side. Those on the north side are

said to have been hallowed in honour of St. Blaise and All Souls; they would be separated by screens and have a fence screen in the arches of the transept but no indication of either remain in the piers, which have been made all new. The altars were raised at least two steps above the transept floor as indicated by the height of the squint, pointing to the High Altar, above the ground.

In 1408, Robert Bonce desired to be buried in the church of the blessed Mary of Redcliff, before the altar of St. Blaise, by the grave of son John. He left 33s. 4d. to the work of the Church and willed for a fit priest to celebrate at the altar for the good of his soul for two years at eight marks a year.[1]

In the northern chapel is now placed the earliest monument in the church, being the effigy of a knight in chain mail with crossed legs. In 1812 it was against the west wall of the transept.[2]

Barrett records that:—

> "About the middle of the cross aile was buried Everard le Fraunces. Over him is a plain altar tomb, with his figure in the robes of a magistrate, and formerly the following inscription:—
>
> "Hic jacet Everardus le French qui in hâc ecclesiâ duas fundavit cantarias et duas alias in ecclesiâ St. Nicolai, et fuit ter maior hujus villae cujus animae propitietur Deus, Amen. M.CCCL."[3]

Britton also records this tomb but as he does not shew it on his plan of the church, it had gone from its original position before his time. Personally I am inclined to think the monument referred to is the effigy now at the south end of the west aisle of the south transept.

Everard le French certainly did found a chantry, if not two in this church, but it is not known at which altar and

[1] *Bristol Wills*, p. 105.
[2] Britton, *Redcliffe Church*, ground plan.
[3] Barrett's *Bristol*, p. 583.

the position of his monument throws no light on the subject. This chantry was one of the four that remained at the suppression of chantries and the priest was William Bonner who had a pension of £5.[1]

Another chantry which remained to the suppression was Chaney's chantry the site of which cannot be identified and the last priest was John Bradle who also had a pension of £5.[2]

There were two chapels in the east aisle of the south transept, but here also all evidence of screens and altars has been destroyed. The southern chapel was hallowed in honour of St. Katherine and the northern in honour of St. George.

William Canynges, whom William Worcester styles "a most wealthy and most wise merchant of the city of Bristol, Dean of the church of Westbury, died on the 17th day of November, A.D., 1474 and was in the order of priesthood seven years and had been five times Mayor of the said city and was elected to represent the said city in parliament,"[3] founded perpetual chantries at both altars during his lifetime. He built a lodging for the priests at the western extremity of the churchyard. This house was 20 or 19 yards in length with bay windows of freestone for the chambers of the four priests.[4] Canynges mentions only two chantry priests in his will, namely, Peter Lambs serving at the altar of St. Katherine to whom and his successors he left his best suit of vestments of velvet, and Thomas Hawcook serving at the altar of St. George to whom and his successors he left a suit of vestments of damask *blodii coloris*. He also left two books for use in the quire for his priests, one on one side and one on the other. At the suppression of chantries there was only one priest attached to Canynges' Chantries, William Moses

[1] Willis, *Abbies*, ii, p. 88.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *William Wyrcestre*, pp. 123-4.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

who had a pension of £5.[1] Canynges' will is dated 12th November, 1474, and he desires to be buried in the place which he had constructed on the south side of the church by the altar of St. Katherine where the body of his late wife Joan was buried.[2] Outside the chapel against the south wall of the transept is an altar tomb, with an arched canopy above, upon which were the effigies of a man and woman. I see no reason to suppose they were not in their original position and it is a pity they have been removed into the 14th century recesses in the south aisle of the nave.

The reputed effigy of Canynges, as dean of Westbury, on the south side of the chapel, is said to have been brought from that place.

Two interesting grave slabs remain in the floor of this transept. The one in the middle of the west aisle has a knife and colender roughly cut upon it and inscribed.

Hic jacet Willm' Coke quondam servitas Willmī Canynges mercatoris ville Bristoll cui' aīe ppicietur deus amen.

The other is under the first arch of the west arcade and bears a large incised cross with the inscription running round the edge.

✠ Hic jacet Johēs Blecker señ pandoxator cuius aīe propicietur deus amen ✠ Hic jacent Ricardus Coke et Tibota ux' eius (quorum āibus) ppicietur deus amen.

The lettering still retains its lead filling and the slab was appropriated in 1716 by one Stritch.

The nave was that part of the church set apart for the worshippers though it may have contained small chantries. Britton's and other early prints shew the inner members of the first pair of pillars on either side to have been cut away and this may indicate that there was a small altar against each pier surrounded by a fence screen to form a small chapel.

[1] Willis, *Abbies*, ii, p. 88.
[2] Wadley's *Bristol Wills*, p. 151.

The font was against the pillar on the south, the inner moulding being finished with a corbel above it.

A John Frensshe died in 1398 and desired to be buried by his wife Julia next the Holy font. He also left money to a chantry priest to celebrate masses for the repose of his soul and those of his two wives.

Under the tower was probably an altar with a fence screen around it. At the restoration of the church the arch carrying the south wall was destroyed and a new arch made of much smaller size, but fortunately the original label mould was left towards the tower which shows the size of the original arch. The windows were also altered by the insertion of new tracery in the upper parts and are now filled with fragments of old glass. The north window is entirely filled with bits of glass of various dates but the west window has two tiers of figures less fragmentary. The upper row beginning at the south consists of:—

1. A bishop in mass vestments in the act of blessing.
2. Our Lady with the Holy Child on her right arm and a sceptre in the left hand.
3. An archbishop holding the cross staff and vested in the pallium.
4. St. Lawrence holding a book in the right hand and the grid iron in the left.

The lower row consists of

1. St. George slaying the dragon with a short sword.
2. St. Matthias holding a long handled axe.
3. St. John Baptist with a book and Agnus Dei.
4. Made up of two fragments, the upper part being the head and shoulders of Our Lady and Child; the lower part being the remains of a fine figure of the Trinity, which consisted of a seated figure of God the Father supporting the Son on the cross between the knees. The descending Dove and angels in the room behind the vestry may have belonged to this group.

The original doorway to the stair to the upper part of the tower remains blocked up in the north east angle.

The north porch must now be considered. The relics of Our Lady, for which the porch was built, were kept in the small chamber on the south west side, the front of which is protected with iron gratings.

William Worcester gives valuable information about this porch, which was a chapel in his time.

> " The length of the first porch entrance of the church of the blessed Mary contains 7 yards and the chapel in continuation to the door of entry with the principal church contains 6 yards. The breadth of the said chapel contains 5 yards.
>
> The principal chapel of St. Mary with the statues of the Kings skilfully wrought in freestone contains in circumference forty-four yards with the doorway of entrance skilfully wrought.
>
> The length of the principal porch where the holy and blessed Virgin is venerated contains 12 yards, its width contains 6 yards."[1]

The arrangement of the chapel combined with the porch is not easy to imagine. The outer porch was given up to the passage of pilgrims before the relic and the passage of worshippers into the church. At first sight it would seem that when the porch was made into a chapel the passage into the church was blocked up, but this is shewn by Worcester not to have been the case as he mentions the door of entrance into the church. In one paragraph he fortunately differentiates the porch from the chapel, which clearly shews that the inner porch contained the altar which must have stood against the east wall.

In 1464 Lodowic Mors willed to be buried in the porch of the blessed Mary of Redcliff before the image of the blessed Mary in the same[2] and again in 1491 Maud Ester-

[1] *William Wyrcestre*, p. 204.
[2] *Bristol Wills*, p. 138.

feld left a ring of gold to the use of the chapel of the blessed Mary situated in the porch of the parish church of the blessed Mary of Redcliff.[1]

The exact position of this important image is not known, but it must without much doubt have stood above the relic chamber on the south west side of the porch and for the ease of access to the image the wall passage was made round the porch.

A still further reference to the image of Our Lady occurs in the will of William Canynges when he leaves 20s. to the keeper of the box for oblations at the north door.

A vice of the same date as the outer porch is on the eastern side of the inner porch and leads to a room above the latter. This room has the original window in the north wall and had a steep pitched roof which remained after the tower was built. The upper part of the wall of the north aisle is carried upon a wide construction arch across the south end of the room. There does not seem to have been a fireplace, but in the south east angle is a small gardrobe added in the fifteenth century. The vice continues up to a large room over the outer porch which Barratt says was formerly "The Treasury House,"[2] and still retains the original doors at the top of the stairs. It was in this room that Chatterton carried on his ingenious work that so deceived the excellent Barrett and has caused so much trouble in gleaning fact from fancy which surrounds the story of this church.

The south porch has a parvise above the fifteenth century remodelling and Barrett says it was "a handsome room wainscoted having a chimney in it, on each side of which are cupboards for keeping the church writings, this being the place where the churchwardens and vestry-men of the parish now meet to transact business."[3] Old views of the

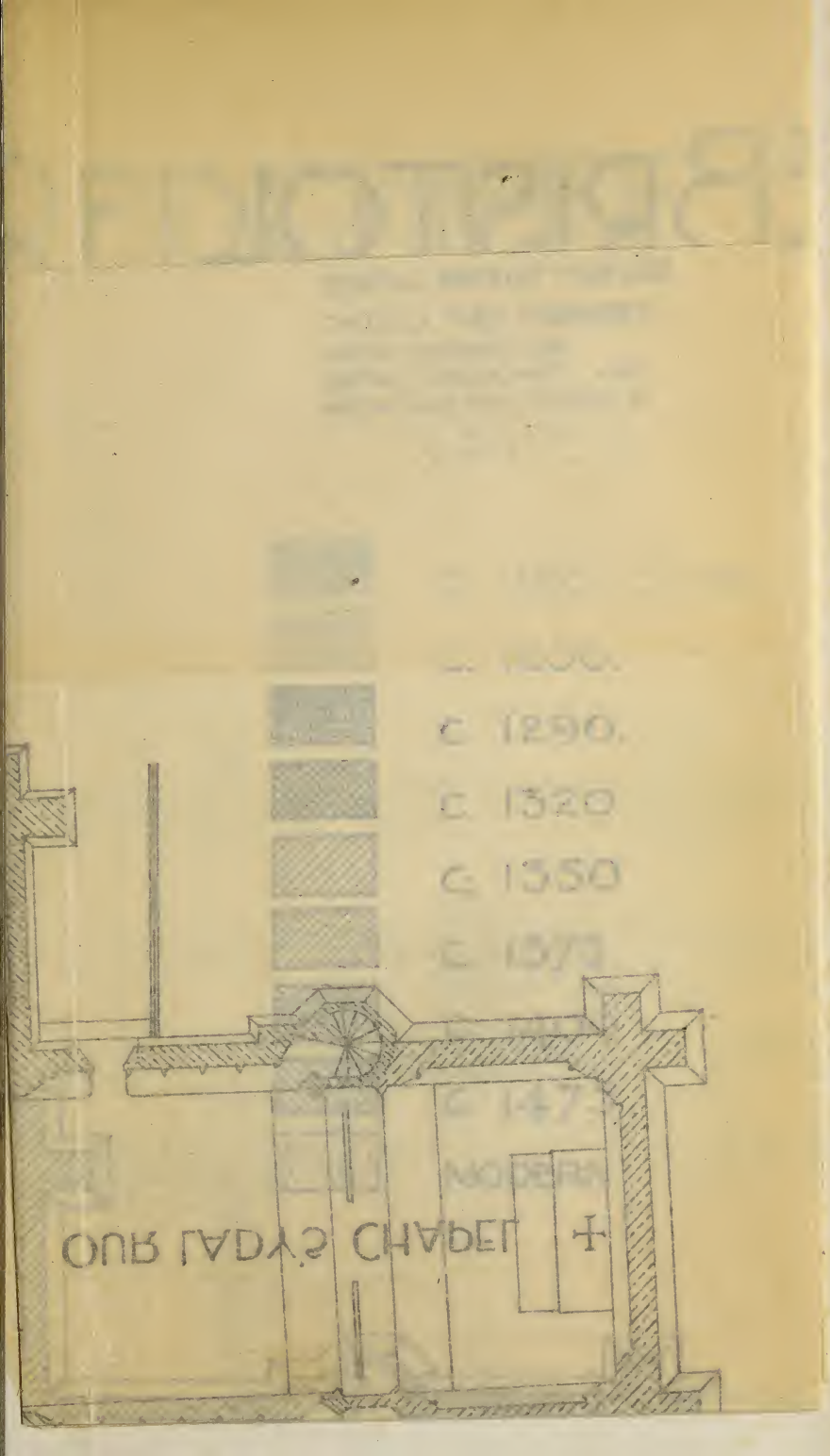
[1] *Bristol Wills*, p. 177.
[2] Barrett's *Bristol*, p. 576.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 576.

church shew that it was gained from the south aisle by a large added staircase on the east side.

Under the north transept, as before stated, is a large crypt or bonehole originally entered by a small doorway and descending stair from the north aisle of the nave, which is now blocked.

There was probably an altar at the east end attached to which would be the Fraternity of the Commemoration of Souls mentioned in William Canynges' will. The southern part of the crypt would be allotted to the storage of the bones.

In conclusion I wish to tender my heartiest thanks to Mr. G. H. Oatley, the architect to the Vestry, for having the excellent ground plan prepared in his office and without which it would have been a hard task to write this paper. To the Vicar and Vestry for allowing the plan to be made. To Mr. Sefton Clarke for kindly meeting me at the church and allowing me to inspect the interesting documents in his charge and to Mr. J. E. Pritchard, F.S.A. for much assistance in preparing this paper.


c. 1290.
c. 1320
c. 1350
MODERN
OUR LADY'S CHAPEL

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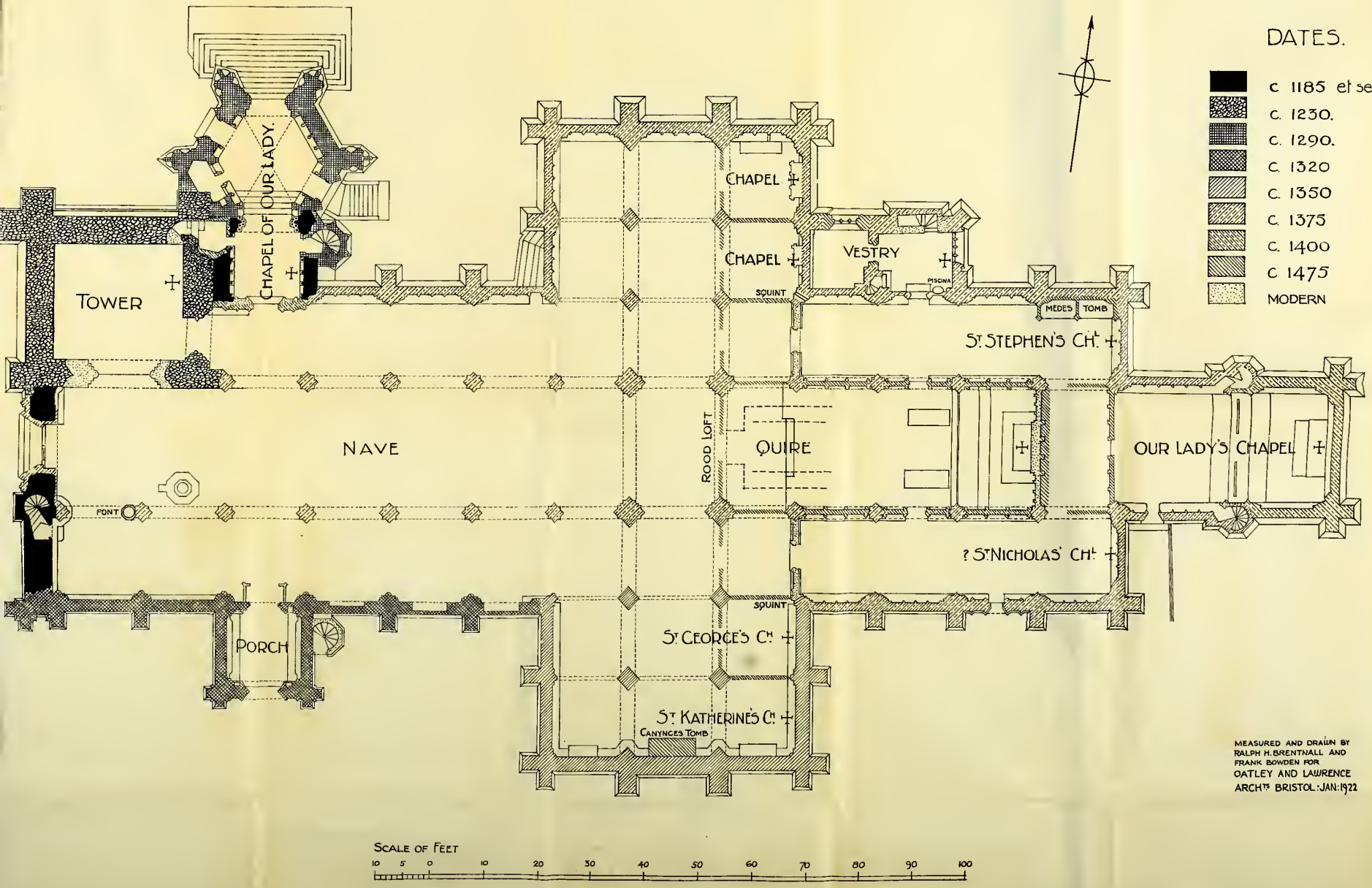
St Mary Redcliffe Bristol



ST MADY

THE GREAT EAST WINDOW OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

By G. McN. Rushforth, F.S.A.

(With Three Plates).

It might have been thought that the subject of the east window in the quire of Gloucester Cathedral had been exhausted by Charles Winston's important paper of 1863,[1] and Mr. T. D. Grimké-Drayton's valuable notes which I edited for the *Transactions* in 1916.[2] So far as the history and heraldry of the window is concerned this is probably true. But renewed study of the glass, in preparation for the joint meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute and of our Society in 1921, convinced me that there was still something to be said about the general design of the window, and about the selection and identification of the persons represented in it. The pages which follow embody most of what I said to members of the two societies assembled in front of the window on July 16th, 1921.

With Mr. Winston's paper before us, it is unnecessary to dwell on the fact that the window forms a landmark in the history of English glass-painting, for it is the first example, as well as being one of the grandest, of a window filled with tiers of full-length figures, which are so characteristic of the fifteenth century. Finished probably by 1350, and filled with glass which in style is strictly faithful to the 'Decorated' or fourteenth century tradition, the stone framework belongs to the new or 'Perpendicular'

[1] Reprinted from the *Archæological Journal*, xx (1863), pp. 239-253, 319-330, in Winston's *Memoirs Illustrative of the Art of Glass-Painting* (London, 1865), pp. 285 ff.

[2] Vol. xxxviii.

type, which so favoured the scheme of canopied single figures, not only by the vertical lines of the mullions and tracery lights, but also by the new device of the transom, which seemed naturally to create tiers of panels exactly suited for full-length figures. The new architectural setting, combined with other artistic influences, resulted in a great improvement of painted glass, both in draughtsmanship and tone; and by the end of the fourteenth century windows were being produced, exhibiting all the clearness and delicacy of colour, and beauty and refinement of drawing, in which the best work of the fifteenth century was so pre-eminent. But as yet, except for the presence of an unusual amount of white glass and a general lightness of effect, there is no trace of all this in the original glass of our window, which is mainly interesting as indicating one of the principal forms which window design was to take in the future.

The structure of the window is the first thing that calls for notice. We observe that the largest possible area for glass has been obtained. The designer was not content with the normal space provided by the extreme width of the quire, but has increased it (1) by deflecting outwards the side walls of the easternmost bays, north and south; (2) by making the window a bow, so that it almost suggests a triptych with its hinged wings coming slightly forward on either side of the central portion (fig. 1). The window is also carried down nearly to the floor, though the central portion of the lowest part forming the entrance to the Lady Chapel was not glazed.

The idea of a triptych, just mentioned, may help us to realize the pictorial design of the window. Looking at it as a whole, and, so far as possible, thinking away or forgetting the stone framework, we may fancy it as a great coloured triptych of tiers of canopied figures, the central portion, as is sometimes the case with triptychs, rising higher than the wings; the whole set against a

background of pale quarry-work which fills up the rest of the window above and below. Winston's diagram (pl. I), where the coloured parts are shaded, brings this out very well.[1]

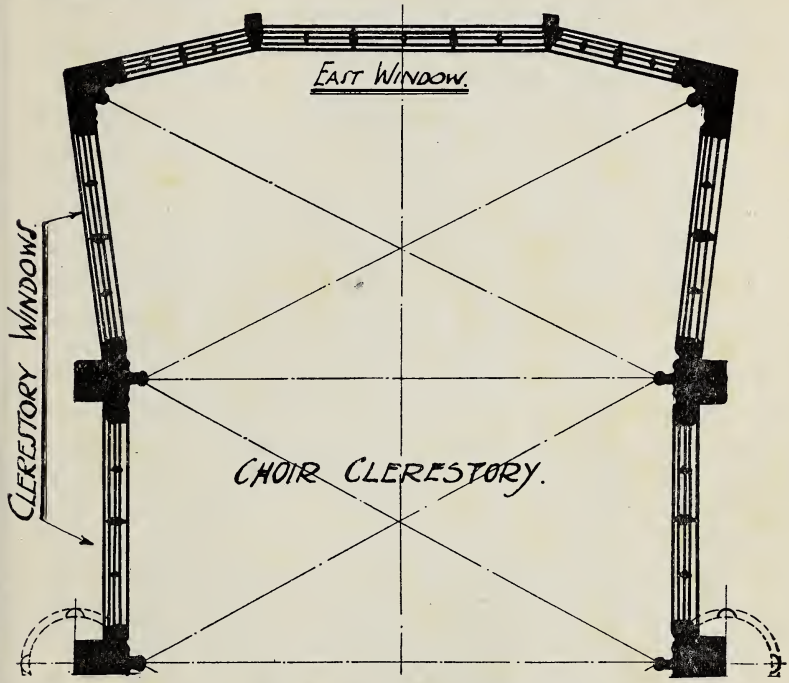


FIG. 1.—EAST WINDOW, GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.
Horizontal Section at the Clerestory Level.

The quarry background was nothing new, for it often appears with the single rows of canopied figures which are a frequent feature of 'Decorated' windows; but it is used here on a larger scale and with bolder effect. There was a special reason why the three lowest tiers of lights are filled with it, the coloured figure-panels stopping with the fourth tier from the bottom. Whatever the form of the

[1] The numbers and capital letters within brackets in the following account refer to this diagram.

old thirteenth century Lady Chapel may have been,[1] its body and roof must have interfered with the transparency of the lowest part of the window, just as the present one does; and painted figure-subjects would have been almost thrown away there. The pale quarries, however, are but little affected. There is reason to think that the lowest section of the east window in Great Malvern Priory Church was filled with quarry work for a similar purpose.

The quarries, a very large number of which survive, are delicately ornamented with a star design; and in some cases the monotony of the background is relieved by decorative insertions. Thus the three principal tracery openings in the head of the window had gold flaming stars, though the central one has been destroyed by the insertion of the fifteenth century figure of St. Clement. The four corresponding openings in the tracery heads of the two wings are relieved by ornamental roundels. On the same principle, the quarry lights under the lowest tier of figures were varied by the series of roundels and heraldic shields, which form a sort of 'predella" to the triptych. As there are no inscriptions of any kind in the glass—not even the names of the persons represented—the shields provide the chief evidence for dating the glass, with tolerable accuracy, shortly before 1350.

So much for the scheme or general design. Next as to the contents of the 'storied' part of the window. The subject, as has often been pointed out, is the Coronation of the Virgin; for though we have only tiers of isolated figures, we must conceive of the whole as a single composition in which that medieval symbol of the consummation of the drama of Incarnation and Redemption—the enthronement of Mary as Queen of Heaven, is attended by the apostles and saints of the Church in glory, as well as by the founders and most eminent representatives of the

[1] See Canon Bazeley's *Notes on the Early English Lady Chapel* in *Records of Gloucester Cathedral*, iii, pp. 12 ff.

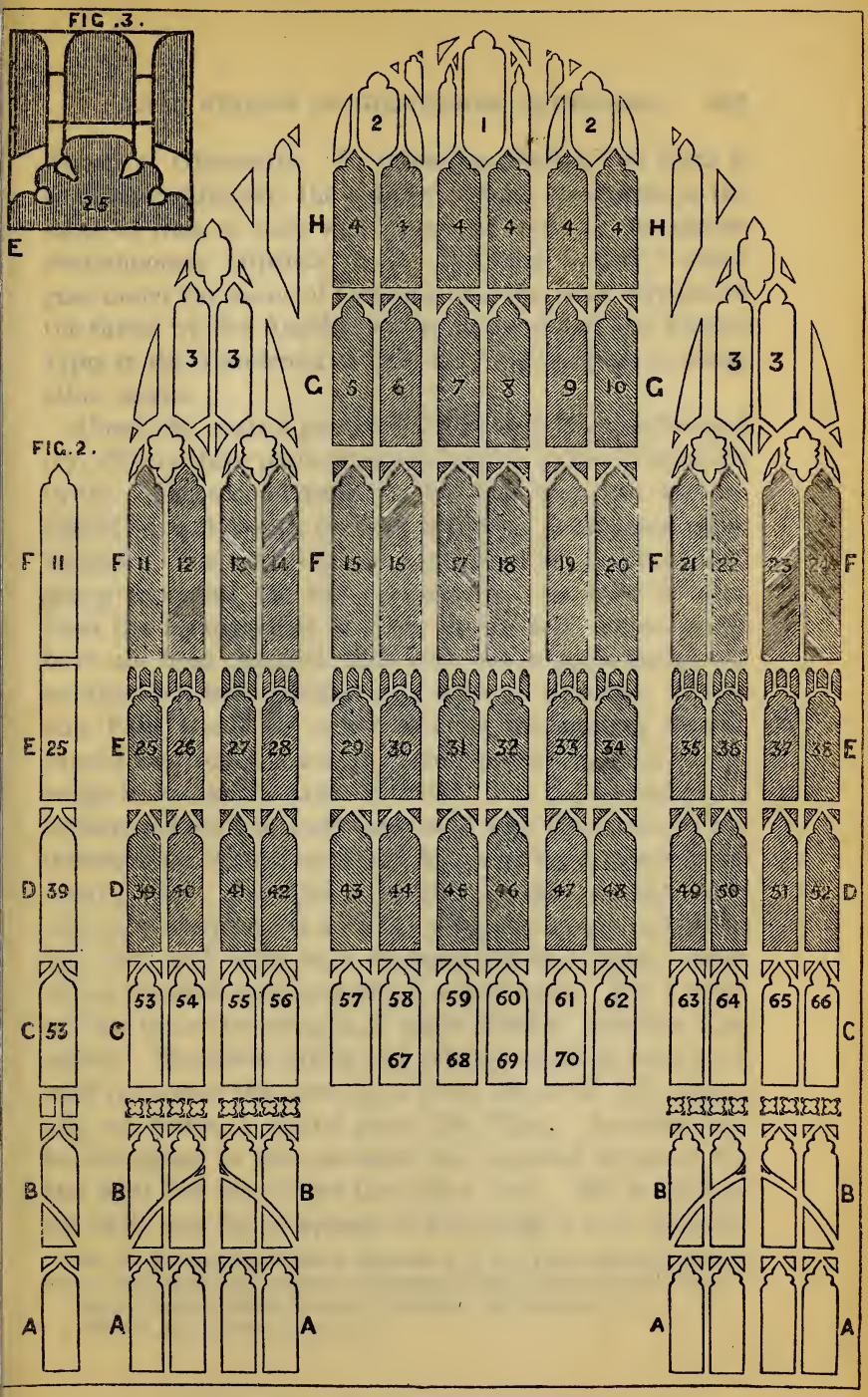
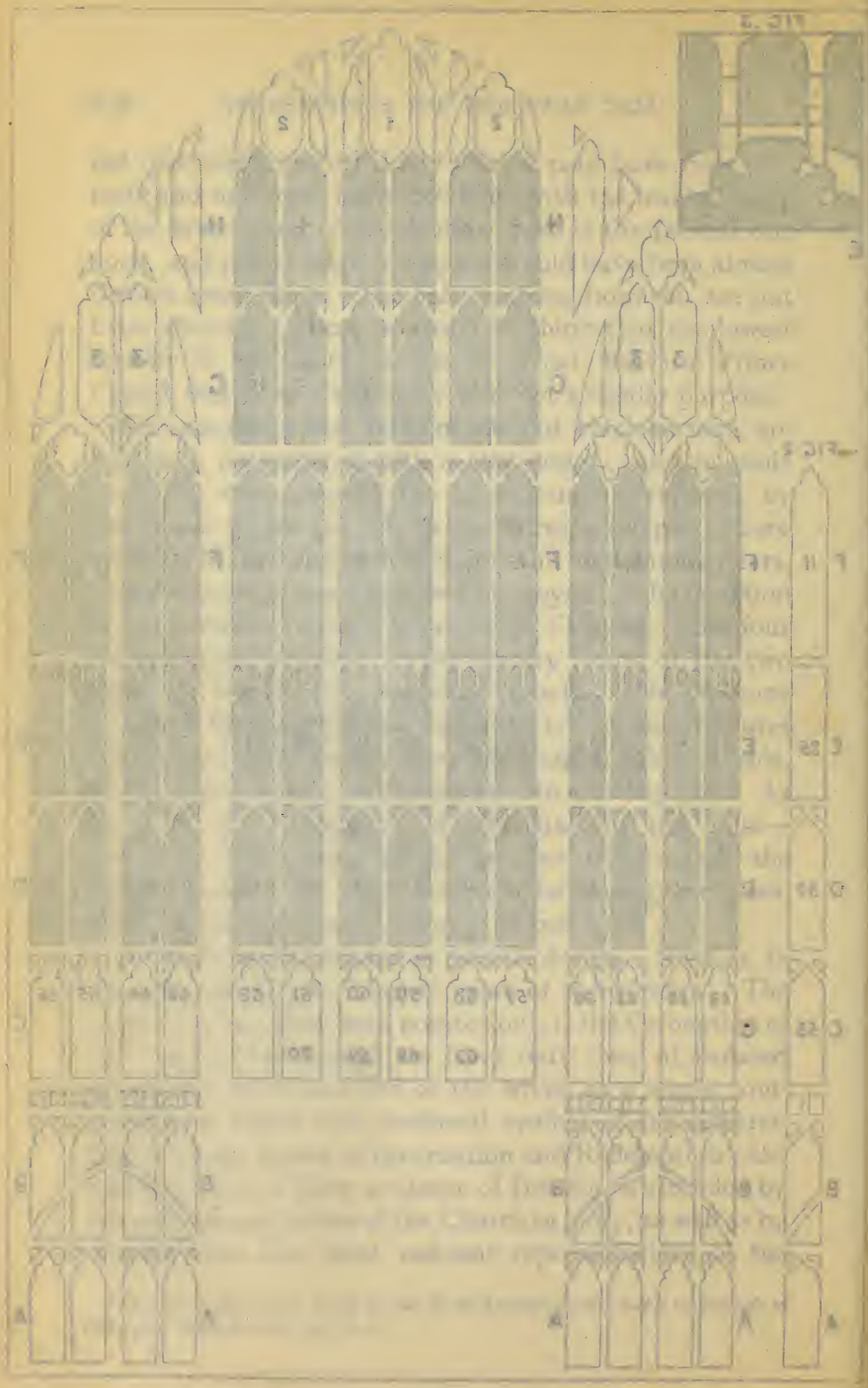


Diagram Illustrative of the East Window of Gloucester Cathedral.

Facing Page 296.



Abbey of Gloucester. In principle, though the form is somewhat different, the subject and its treatment is the same as that of such well-known pictures as the almost contemporary triptych in the National Gallery,[1] which goes under the name of Orcagna, and the later versions of the theme by Fra Angelico in the Louvre[2] and Fra Filippo Lippi in the Accademia at Florence,[3] not to speak of many other works.

Above the central group of Christ and Mary enthroned (17, 18) are three pairs of angels holding palms of triumph (5-10). The second from the left has been lost and replaced by a fifteenth century Madonna from some other window. The figures on the same level (F) as the central group represent the twelve apostles. As may be seen from the arrangement of those on the left, whose places have not been changed, they were not in pairs facing one another, but were grouped on a different principle. Peter and Paul stand on either side of the central throne, turned towards it; and the four apostles in each of the wings looked in the same direction; but the uniformity is broken and the wings are connected with the centre by the intermediate apostle on either side, who turns towards the outer group. The four outermost apostles on the south side have disappeared with the exception of the feet of the last two, and have been replaced by four kings, about whom we shall have something to say later. But I think we can trace the remains of these missing apostles elsewhere. The lower half of one of them seems to have been used to replace the lower part of the Christ in (18), originally, no doubt, a seated figure like Mary. Another may be recognised in the cut-down and patched figure in the last light but one of the tier below (37). He is looking the right way for an apostle in this group (*i.e.* to the left),

[1] No. 569, Reīnach, *Répertoire de Peintures*, ii, p. 524. Forty-eight saints in five rows or tiers kneel on either side of the central group with its attendant angels.

[2] Layard-Kugler, *Italian Schools of Painting*, i, pl. facing p. 130.

[3] Reīnach, *Rép. de Peint.*, iii, p. 505.

and the treatment of the face and beard is just like that of the other apostles, *e.g.* the one in (13). His large purple hat suggests James the Great (pl. II), who was beginning to be represented as a pilgrim in the fourteenth century.[1] If so, for the usual scallop shell badge of the pilgrimage to Compostella there has been substituted a small picture of the face of Christ set in the front of the hat.[2] Perhaps this is intended for the badge of the still more important pilgrimage to Rome, represented by the portrait-bust of Christ in the apse mosaic of the Lateran, the premier church of the Catholic world, which, in medieval legend, reproduced a miraculous apparition of the Saviour at the original consecration of the basilica.[3] I am also inclined to think that the much damaged figure on the same tier, holding a green club (35), is another apostle, probably meant for Simon. James the Less (13) is holding his club or fuller's bat in just the same position. The modern head has been turned the wrong way. With the exception of two in the left or north wing, who have no distinguishing emblems (11, 13), the remaining apostles are readily identified as (from left to right) James the Less (12), Andrew (14), John (15), Peter (16), Paul (19), and Thomas (20). James the Great no doubt came next in (21).[4]

The tier below (E) was filled by fourteen canonized saints, in pairs turning towards each other. They seem to be arranged on a definite principle. In the left half of the tier, including the central pair of lights, four virgin martyrs alternate with four male martyrs, all being obvious

[1] E. Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France* (Paris, 1908), p. 183.

[2] I see no ground for Winston's idea that this is a fifteenth century insertion. The treatment of the hair and beard is exactly like that in the heads of the apostles.

[3] For the legend see Baldeschi-Crescimbeni, *Stato della Chiesa Lateranense nell' anno* 1723 (Rome 1723), pp. 154 ff. Mgr. Wilpert (*Die Römischen Mosaiken* etc., i, pp. 188 ff) suggests that the story originated in the fact that this was the first publicly exhibited portrait of Christ in Rome.

[4] In my account of the Lady Chapel east window (*Transactions*, xliii, p. 218) I suggested that a large bearded face in one of the bottom lights might have belonged to this set of apostles. I see now that this is impossible.

Gloucester Cathedral: East Window. St. James the Great.

From telephotograph by Sydney A. Pitcher, Gloucester. *Facing Page 298.*

choices from their celebrity, and except one, easily identified. They are (from left to right), Caecilia with her wreath of red roses (25), George (26), a virgin whose emblem is lost (27) (Agatha or Agnes are likely names), Edmund King of East Anglia holding two arrows[1] (28), Margaret spearing a dragon (29), Laurence as a deacon with his gridiron (30), Catherine with sword and book[2] (31), and John the Baptist (32). The last two, of course, have the place of honour in the centre of the window.

The arrangement of the remaining saints on the right is different, and their identification is conjectural. All the surviving figures are men, but there seems to have been an alternation here too, one of each pair being, perhaps, a king. Though the head of the first (33) is lost, the right hand raised in blessing and the staff held in his gloved left hand show that he is a bishop, or at least an abbot, perhaps St. Benedict, or Dunstan, or even Thomas of Canterbury. His companion (34) has also lost his head, and the figure is in hopeless confusion. If he were a king, the sword in his left hand might suggest Oswald, whose relics were believed to be at Gloucester, though not in the abbey church.[3] Otherwise it might be St. Alban, or some military saint. The left hand figures of the next two pairs have disappeared and been replaced, as suggested above, by two apostles (35 and 37). Of their companions, the first (36) is undoubtedly a king holding a sceptre, perhaps Edward the Confessor. The other king in the last place (38) is certainly an alien insertion, for he is on a larger scale than the figures of this window. But it is not

[1] The two arrow-heads are distinct, and no doubt the feathered ends of the shafts were so also, but only the lead outline is left, so that, at first sight, there seems to be a single arrow.

[2] The absence of the wheel is very unusual, though not unprecedented. The lowest part of the figure is confused, but there are no traces of the wheel, and no foundation for the assertion in *Records of Gloucester Cathedral*, iii, p. 10.

[3] William of Malmesbury *Gesta Pontificum* (Rolls Series, p. 293). Leland, *Itinerary* (ed. Toulmin Smith), ii, p. 62. *Transactions*, xliii (1921), pp. 88, 128. *Records of Gloucester Cathedral*, ii, p. 96.

unlikely that he was put here as a substitute for a shattered king, who was the original occupant.

We now come to the third tier of figures (D), where the absence of nimbs shows that we have to do, not with saints, but with historical personages, presumably connected with the abbey. The place of honour in the centre was occupied, apparently, by two kings, but the one on the right has been replaced by a St. Edmund with his arrows (46), who is an intruder, as the larger scale of the figure shows. The six figures to the left (39-44) are, as before, in pairs with an alternation, in this case of mitred bishops, presumably of Worcester, and tonsured ecclesiastics holding croziers, therefore abbots, presumably of Gloucester. It may be remembered that the mitre was not granted to them till many years after the date of this window.[1] The lights to the right apparently also had an alternation, but the figures are mostly in a ruined state. The bishops and abbots wear alternately the mass vestments and the cope, but for variety the first two pairs are, so to speak, counterchanged, so that we get the series: cope (39), chasuble (40), chasuble (41), cope (42), chasuble (43), cope (44). On the south side the vestments of only two have survived, viz. the mass vestments for the bishop in (49), and the cope for the abbot of (50), which looks as if the system was reversed on this side, unless the figures have been moved. The bishop's mitre survives in (51), and perhaps there are the remains of the lower part of another abbot in (48), the upper part being made up with the remains of a king holding a lance. The king in (47) is, like St. Edmund, on a larger scale, and therefore an importation. The condition of the figure at the end of the row (52) does not allow of any decision as to its character.

Though, as we have noticed, no names are inscribed below the figures of the window, these persons were

[1] In the time of Abbot Walter Frocester (1381-1412). *Records of Gloucester Cathedral*, ii, p. 152.

Gloucester Cathedral: East Window.
A King: perhaps Edward II.

From telephotograph by Sydney A. Pitcher, Gloucester. *Facing Page 301.*

intended to represent definite individuals; and when the glass was put up there must have been some record or other clue by which they could be identified. Perhaps it was to be found in 'certayne writyns in the wall of the northe ile of the body of the church' from which Leland drew his information about the founders and benefactors of the abbey.[1] Keeping his notes before us, we may attempt to make a list of possible names, even though we cannot hope to identify every individual. We may begin by supposing that the two kings in the central places of honour are founders. If so, the one to the left (45) might be Osric, the original founder in 681; while the other, perhaps the fragmentary figure with a spear now in (48), might be Canute who introduced the Benedictines (1022), or William the Conqueror or his successor, under whom the abbey was revivified and rebuilt by Serlo. But perhaps we ought not to exclude the possibility that one of them represents Edward II who, like Osric, was buried in the quire, and whose local reputation as a quasi-saint was at its highest about this time. It was from one of those inscriptions painted on the nave wall, mentioned above, that we learn, through Leland, that the new work of the quire and south aisle was paid for by offerings made at his tomb.[2] He might well be the bearded king in 45 (pl. III), holding sceptre and orb, just like his recumbent effigy close by.[3]

The bishops of Worcester represented will be those specially associated with the vicissitudes of the church. There are six to be accounted for. Once more we learn from Leland's use of the 'writyns in the wall' that it was

[1] *Itin.*, ii, p. 59; v. 156. *Records of Gloucester Cathedral*, i, p. 141.

[2] *Itin.*, ii., p. 60.

[3] Though there can be no doubt that this figure belongs to the series, the treatment of the face and brown beard is quite individual and unlike that of the other bearded figures. It may therefore be intended to suggest a portrait. The orb is surmounted by a tall plain 'Latin' cross. It may be noted that the crown is of the same type as that above the modern head in (48), but rather richer.

by the counsel of Bishop Bosel that Osric founded the church, and by that of Wulstan that Canute brought in the Benedictines. It was Bishop Aldred who in 1058 almost refounded the monastery and rebuilt the church. It was in the time of the sainted Wulstan II that Serlo reformed the house, and began to build the church that we see to-day; and it was consecrated by Bishop Sampson in 1100. The sixth place may have been filled by the bishop of the day, probably Wulstan of Bransford who died in 1349.

In the same way we may try to construct a list of probable abbots for the alternate places. They would not be likely to begin before the Benedictine establishment in 1022, for secular chapters were always looked down upon by their monastic successors. The first abbot of the black monks, Edric, should figure in the series, and his more acceptable successor Wulstan, and certainly Serlo, the Norman builder of the existing church. The abbot contemporary with the window was Adam of Staunton (1337-1351), but it is not obvious how the other places were filled. We have seen that on the south side only one abbot (50) certainly survives. Of the two other places, the figure in (52) is quite unrecognisable, and in the lower half of (48) we find something different. The king with a spear has been made up with the lower half of a figure, not in vestments, but in plain white drapery hanging straight, and apparently holding a staff (or crozier) to which the spear shaft has been adapted.[1] One would like to think that we have here the remains of one of the abbesses of Osric's original foundation, whose names have been preserved by Leland: Kyneburga, the sister of Osric, Edburga, and Eva, all described as queens of the Mercians. We know that they were all buried, with Osric, in the abbey church.[2]

In conclusion something must be said about the inserted

[1] It will be noticed that the spear shaft is leaded separately, while the staff below is painted on the same pieces of glass as the drapery behind it.

[2] *Historia et cartularium S. Petri Glouc.* (Rolls series), vol. i, p. 6. *Records of Gloucester Cathedral*, iii, p. 12.

figures of kings which we have come across, six in all, of a larger scale than the original figure of the window; and with them we may consider three or four similar kings which we noticed on a previous occasion, in the east window of the Lady Chapel.[1] All are more or less contemporary in style with the glass of the great window; and no better suggestion has been made than Winston's,[2] that they came from the quire clerestory windows, which their dimensions seem to fit. The painted glass of those windows would naturally be the next work of the kind undertaken after the great window was finished.

It is remarkable that all these figures are kings; and even if we are not obliged to suppose that the series of kings was continued through all the ten windows of the clerestory (implying forty figures), we have to account for and explain even a limited series of the kind. As a matter of fact, such a series of royal figures occurs with tolerable frequency among the imagery of great medieval churches, but the meaning varies. The rows of statues on the west fronts of several French cathedrals represent, as M. Mâle has shown,[3] the kings of Judah and the royal ancestors of Christ and the Virgin; and it has been suggested that they also appear on the west fronts of English cathedrals, such as Exeter. But it is not, perhaps, very likely that they would be put in a subordinate position, such as that of clerestory windows, detached from the central subject of the great east window. A more probable suggestion would be that our kings may have belonged to a set of the kings of England: indeed one of them clearly represents the martyred Edmund, king of East Anglia (46). So in the clerestory windows of Rheims Cathedral the kings of France are represented, though there each is accompanied by the archbishop

[1] *Transactions*, xliii, p. 217.
[2] *Memoirs*, p. 291, note.
[3] *L'art religieux du* XIIIe *siècle en France* (3rd ed.), p. 200.

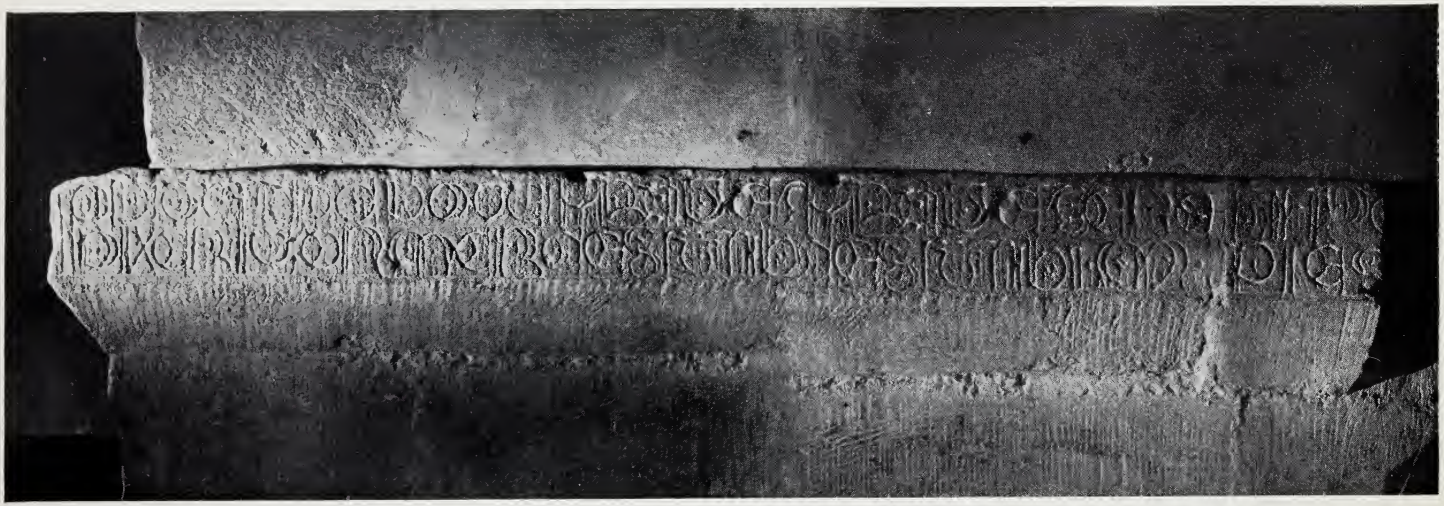
who crowned him.[1] The subjects of the windows in the cloister at Peterborough were recorded before their destruction, and we are told that the nine windows of the north side had a set of 'all the Kings of England downwards from the first Saxon King' (*i.e.* Peada, the founder). There must have been thirty-six figures in all.[2] Such a series, beginning with Osric, would very well suit the Gloucester clerestory. But there is another possibility. Among the traditional decorations of great Benedictine churches were portraits of kings who had resigned their crowns to become monks. A record has preserved the inscriptions beneath the figures of eminent Benedictines painted on the screen-work of the altar of St. Jerome and St. Benedict in Durham Cathedral, and among them are the names of twelve emperors and kings (six of them English) who had become monks.[3] To give only one later instance—I remember seeing a similar series, painted in the 17th or 18th century, in the nave of the Benedictine church of San Pietro at Perugia.

Now at Gloucester the 'writings' seen by Leland on the north wall of the nave may have included a list of this kind, for the poem about the history of the abbey, composed by Abbot Malvern in the 16th century, and no doubt drawn from that source, contains the names of 'sondry famous kings also of this land' who

> 'renounced their kingdomes, and gladly tooke in hand
> Holy Religion, and became men spirituall.'

Ten names follow (five of them also occur in the Durham list), and the number may have been increased by those of lords, like Roger de Lacy, who followed their example.[4] Anyway, between them and the English kings, the clerestory windows may have been appropriately filled.

[1] *Mâle*, op. cit., pp. 397 ff.
[2] S. Gunton, *History of the Church of Peterborough*, pp. 336, 103.
[3] *Rites of Durham* (Surtees Soc. ed. J. T. Fowler), pp. 124 ff.
[4] *Records of Gloucester Cathedral*, i, pp. 153, 154.



INSCRIPTION AT CLAPTON, GLOS.

Photograph by Sydney Pitcher.

Facing Page 305.

INSCRIPTION AT CLAPTON.

By G. McN. Rushforth, F.S.A.

(With Plate).

THOSE who have penetrated to the little church of Clapton, set in a hamlet of Cotswold houses and cottages on the hillside above Bourton-on-the-Water, may have been puzzled by an inscription cut on the inner face of the abacus surmounting the northern pier of the chancel arch. The late Mr. Daubeny, who first called attention to it in his 'Ancient Cotswold Churches' (p. 114 [1]) assigns the building to the last quarter of the twelfth century, but the inscription may be somewhat later. The lettering is of the so-called Lombardic type, but the forms are peculiar and produced partly, it would seem, by the use of compasses. The letters are, on the whole, well preserved, and superficially give the impression of being quite legible. But it is far from easy to read off the words at first sight; and it was some time before I reached an even approximately correct interpretation. I may add that the metrical form of the inscription shows that it is complete, and that nothing has been lost.

The second line is fairly clear, and provides a clue to the general meaning. It runs

dixerit en merces $\overline{|t|}$ *ibi m. dies.*

m is evidently for *mille*, and *t* presumably is an abbreviated *tunc*. The conditional *dixerit*, '(whoever) shall have said' or 'shall say,' followed by 'a reward of a thousand days,' suggests that we have to do with an Indulgence, offering a thousand days pardon for the recital of certain prayers, which in such cases were always the *Pater noster* and the

[1] I must disclaim all responsibility for the conjectural version of the second line which he prints on p. 115.

Ave Maria. The formula (generally in French) is familiar from many 13th and 14th century grave-stones and brasses (we modernize the spelling): *Qui pour l'âme* (of the deceased) *priera, quarante jours de pardon avera.* The first word of the first line will therefore be *qui,* and it continues fairly clearly: *ter devote P(ate)r Ave . . . . . dixerit.* The last words of the line are a difficulty. They ought to express (like *ter* and *devote*) some other condition or qualification for gaining the indulgence. The first letter superficially resembles an S. but there is no Latin word to which *seneb* (as it appears to read) could correspond, and I therefore take it to be a G, formed, apparently, like the manuscript *g* of the period. The complicated symbol (not a letter) following B will be the mark of abbreviation by which the ablative plural in *bus* is nearly always indicated. We then get *geneb(us),* incorrectly written for *genib(us),* ' on his knees ' or ' kneeling,' followed by *ipse,* ' in person,' compressed for want of space into IPE. The whole will then read:

Qui ter devote P(ate)r Ave geneb(us) ip(s)e
dixerit, en merces t(unc) ibi m(ille) dies.

' Whoever shall say three times devoutly a Pater and an Ave on his knees and in person—lo ! (or 'look you ') there is a reward then and there of a thousand days.'

It is unnecessary to point out the metrical and other weaknesses of the couplet, which, like the cutting of the letters, give the impression that it is the work of an amateur, perhaps the local priest, who took this means of recording and publishing the substance of the formal document which granted the indulgence. The excessive liberality of the terms is possibly to be explained by its being an accumulation of several indulgences granted by a number of bishops. Thus it might be made up of 10 indulgences of 100 days each, or 25 of 40 days. Or it might be explained in another way. We know very little

about Clapton, but, with Bourton-on-the-Water, it was an early possession of Evesham Abbey. Now when the new abbey-church of Evesham was dedicated in 1239, we are told[1] that the officiating bishop granted a series of indulgences, viz., 100 days pardon on the occasion itself, and afterwards annually 100 days on the anniversary of the dedication, and on every feast of the Holy Cross, of the Virgin, and of St. Egwin (the founder of Evesham). In the 13th century there were two festivals of the Cross (the Invention and Exaltation), five of Mary (Conception, Nativity, Annunciation, Purification, Assumption),[2] and two of St. Egwin (Deposition, Dec. 30th, and Translation, Sept. 10th);[3] so that, with the Dedication, there were ten occasions every year on which a devotee could gain 100 days, or 1000 days in all. This at least shows the practice of the time, for perhaps the Clapton inscription is not far distant in date from 1239. It may be that the abbey secured a privilege of a similar kind for its dependency under special circumstances of which we are ignorant; in which case the Clapton couplet would be a very imperfect summary of the grant and its conditions. I have not, so far, been able to discover any parallel to this inscription.

[1] *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham* (Rolls series), p. 279.

[2] The Feast of the Visitation was instituted by Urban VI in 1389.

[3] *St. Egwin and his Abbey of Evesham* (Stanbrook Abbey, Worcester, 1904), p. 53.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE LITERATURE.

Supplement to the "Bibliographer's Manual."

The *Bibliographer's Manual of Gloucestershire Literature,* which was compiled by Mr. (now *Sir*) F. A. Hyett and Canon Bazeley and published in 1895-97 has proved invaluable to everyone interested in the printed matter relating to the County, and to collectors is indispensable. Its thoroughness and accuracy have been, and are, widely recognized, and with the biographical supplement issued in 1915-16 the five volumes present a bibliography which is not equalled by any other county. Thirty years will soon have passed since the first volume was published and it has been felt for some time that a supplement recording the topographical books, pamphlets, &c., printed during this period would be of service. It is true that the literature of these recent years cannot vie in interest with the early books and historical works described in the *Manual,* but none the less it deserves attention. There is also a not inconsiderable amount of material collected relating to works which were not seen by the compilers of the *Manual.* Some years ago Sir Francis Hyett had in mind the issue of a supplementary volume and (with the co-operation of Mr. Roland Austin) collated and described a large number of publications, but eventually this was abandoned and the biographical portion alone proceeded with. At a recent meeting of the Council of the Society the suggestion was made that the preparation of the supplement should be seriously considered and a report will be presented in due course.

Though Sir Francis Hyett does not feel able to give much (if any) active assistance in the preparation of the supplement he has very readily assented to the use of the

material which he prepared some years since. Mr. Roland Austin has more or less continued noting all new publications and also any works which are not in the *Manual*, and so far as he is able to devote the time, he will begin a systematic preparation of the supplement. The Council are favourable to the suggestion that the Society might assume responsibility for the publication, which, as in the case of the *Manual*, would be issued by private subscription. Members of the Society can render assistance by drawing attention to new publications relating to their district which may come under their notice.

Since the issue of the *Manual* the Gloucester Public Library has been established and the very complete collection of Gloucestershire literature there will be of great use. None the less it is quite impossible in a county the size of Gloucestershire to hear of everything printed, more especially publications such as reports of societies and institutions, periodicals, pamphlets, &c., and it is in this direction that Members of the Society, who collectively represent the whole of Gloucestershire, can help. The Bristol Reference Library has also kept up its collection of literature relating to the City and the printed catalogue issued a few years ago will be helpful in noting publications since 1897. So far very little has been done as regards this portion of the work and if any Bristol member can give assistance it will be welcomed.

Communications in reference to the supplement should be addressed to Mr. Roland Austin, at Gloucester.

NOTES.

CONFERENCE OF RECORD SOCIETIES.

Proposals have been circulated for the formation of a union of Record Societies, to act in much the same relation as the Archæological Societies of the country are connected by the Congress which meets annually at Burlington House.

The initial work suggested is that each Society should furnish a list of records published for its particular area and that the Committee of the Record Societies should re-arrange and re-issue this material to Societies joining in the scheme, so that by degrees a Bibliography of records for all counties would be available for students and others engaged in research work. A preliminary meeting was held in London last Autumn and it is hoped that the support given to the proposals will enable a beginning to be made. The Council of this Society has signified its co-operation in the scheme.

SCHEDULE OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

The Council of the Society have approved the formation of an organisation of correspondents in Gloucestershire for the purpose of assisting to schedule the Ancient Monuments in Gloucestershire, in order that they may be placed under the protection of the Ancient Monuments Act of 1913. Some thirty monuments are already scheduled, but H.M. Office of Works desire to obtain a more complete list of those which are considered to come within the scope of the Act and for this purpose they wish to obtain the active co-operation of the Society.

The Department ask for particulars of pre-historic examples such as tumuli, earthworks, stone circles, and later monuments such as the smaller castles, remains of ecclesiastical buildings, ancient bridges, town walls, crosses, etc.

It is proposed to form a small committee of qualified persons to advise the Department, with a Chief Correspondent, who shall act as the link between these bodies, and also local correspondents who will be asked to assist in the scheme. Forms with particulars of the information required will be supplied to the local correspondents, and when completed these will be sent to the Chief Correspondent, to whom also should be reported instances of

damage done to monuments, or any proposed scheme that may be detrimental to them.

The Council have asked Mr. E. A. B. Barnard, F.S.A. (The Lodge, Evesham), to undertake the duties of Chief Correspondent and with his advice the County will be formed into districts with representatives in each who will act as local correspondents. By such means only is it possible to maintain vigilant supervision over the numerous monuments in the county, and the Council trust that the Society as a whole will give the scheme their active support.

Communications in reference to this matter should be addressed to Mr. Barnard.

BRISTOL DIOCESAN ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

The March (1923) issue of *The Bristol Diocesan Review* contains full particulars of the Bristol Diocesan Advisory Committee, which, in common with so many dioceses in the country, has been set up to afford advice to the Chancellor of the Diocese on questions connected with the fabric and fittings of churches involved in applications for faculties to authorise alterations etc. Of the nine members of the Committee, five are members of our Society. Mr. J. J. Simpson is the hon. secretary.

CELT AT OZLEWORTH.

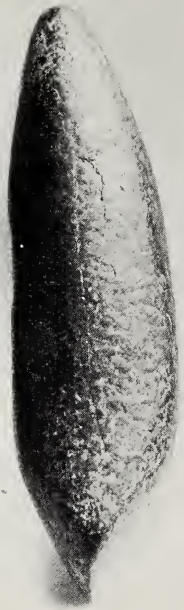
At Ozleworth, Gloucestershire, in April, 1922, a PLAIN STONE CELT was found very near the surface during ploughing. This specimen has a pointed butt and oval section. It measures 4 in. long by 2 in. wide at edge, and 1¼ in. thick. Mr. F. S. Wallis, M.Sc., F.G.S., of the Bristol Museum, reports that the celt is of igneous rock of the Clee Hill Dolerite, brought down in the ice age, and was probably made from rock found in the north of Shropshire. Mr. Wallis further added that an "igneous" stone celt is a very unusual find.

The celt was turned up by Mr. Herbert Burford, when ploughing at Fernley Farm, who kindly presented it to me.

JOHN E. PRITCHARD.

MILLERD'S PLAN OF BRISTOL, 1673.

At the last evening meeting of the fifteenth Winter session of the Bristol members of the Society, held on the 19th March, 1923, at the Red Lodge, an original impression of the large plan of Bristol, by Jacobus Millerd, published in 1673, which is described by Mr. John E. Pritchard, F.S.A., in this volume (pp. 203–20) was presented by him to the Lord Mayor of Bristol, for the City



CELT ($\frac{2}{3}$) FOUND AT OZLEWORTH.

Facing Page 312.

Museum. Mr. Horace Gummer, a member of the Society, very generously contributed the entire cost of the plan.

Mr. Pritchard, in welcoming the Lord Mayor, reminded him that in 1673, Millerd had given a copy of his finished plan to the Mayor and Corporation of that time, in the Council House, which is depicted in the upper border of the plan. That copy had long been lost, and now, exactly two and a half centuries later, the Lord Mayor of the year (Mr. Alfred Dowling), was asked to receive on behalf of the Citizens, through the Society of which he (Mr. Pritchard) was Chairman of Council, the recently discovered copy of the same famous plan. The interest of the occasion was increased by the fact that the gift was made in the sixteenth century house, now in the possession of the City, which Millerd had marked on his plan as "the Red Lodg."

The Lord Mayor returned the thanks of the Citizens for the interesting gift and asked Alderman J. Fuller Eberle, Chairman of the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery Committee, to receive it into his care, with the request that the plan be preserved as the property of the City.

The City of Bristol is indebted almost entirely to Mr. Pritchard for the recovery of the plan. Had it not been for his persistent interest in everything relating to the history of Bristol this copy might easily have gone elsewhere, and he has not spared himself in any way to ensure its preservation in the place where it was produced and should be guarded as a prized possession.

CAVALRY STANDARDS AT BROMESBERROW.

The Cavalry Journal for April, 1923, contains an interesting note, by Edward Fraser, on the Cavalry Standards hanging in Bromesberrow Church, they being two of the three oldest existing flags in England which have seen war service. One is a Royalist Cavalry standard, the other, apparently, a Parliamentarian Cavalry standard, both of which were carried in action in the Civil War of 1642-1645. They hang over the monument of Colonel Rice (or Rhys) Yate, a Royalist officer who captured the Parliamentarian standard, which he preserved with that of his own troop. The Rev. W. Wynn Lloyd, a member of the Society, has supplied particulars of the history of the flags, and photographs, from which a reproduction is given in the *Cavalry Journal*. A more detailed note on the standards appears in the April (1923) number of the *Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research*.

CIRENCESTER PLACE-NAMES: LEWIS STREET.

It may be confessed that Cirencester itself has provided us with certain place-names for scientific solution which offer uncommon difficulties. They are all the more interesting because of this; yet there are still surviving (one notices) people so rash as to imagine that you can arrive at the meaning of an ancient river- or place-name by mere roundabout guesses. That is because (as with obsolete fossils in our garden-walls, formerly), with words, they were not supposed to have any systematic laws behind them. They were the pure creation of Providence merely for our practical benefit, or moral amusement! But names prove to obey strictly, if sometimes darkly, systematic laws, just as did once the ammonites in the blue-clay, hundreds of feet above present sea-level. To get at the workings of these phonetic and evolutionary laws in old names, we need to recapture with great pains the earliest surviving forms of the name that is under consideration: and these forms have to be sought out in charters or grants of land, boundary definitions, forest perambulations, or in rolls of taxation of various kinds. Yet however rich may be the resources of any given county in such documents, a great many that yet survive will always be but poorly represented in these, especially in the deeds above 600 years back, say, behind A.D. 1300, and even during many still more recent centuries; consequently, as one universal tendency of local names is to grow shorter (which alone puts guessing to complete confusion), whole syllables, or small changes of letters, may well be lost trace of, owing to lack of the intermediary forms of a name. For example, no one could, by the most imaginative guess, divine from the river *Colne* that in the 9th century the name was "*Cunelgan*," or that *Bibury* was *Beaganbyrig*.

Now in Cirencester, we have *Lewis* Street; formerly *Lewes* Lane, situate at the extreme boundary of the mediæval town and the moor-land (*mora*), now *Watermoor*; but lying in the very heart of what was the Roman town, even next its Forum: some 12 feet or more below the level of the Churn at Gloucester Bridge. It sounds most uninteresting. Here, we know from surviving maps, terriers, and plans of the 18th century, were formerly pastures, orchards, and wet fields—but no houses—the ancient débâcle of the Roman-British water control of both the true and the diverted *Churn*, and the *Duntisbourne water* had (long centuries before the Conquest) converted that entire lower Roman town into a patchy (perhaps reed-grown) mere, in rainy seasons probably a veritable lake: in fact, we find 13th century humble folk here called *Simon of*

the Lake, Walter of the Moor, etc., and these were tenants, or labourers, of one or other of the four manors which, together, divided up the present (recovered) Roman area of Corinium. It was therefore quite natural that when the small mediæval town began to grow, instead of growing eastward on to swampy ground, it deliberately climbed *Cecily Hill,* and also created street after street beyond the Roman western boundary towards Gloucester Bridge, *i.e.*, in order to be dry!

That even in Roman days the water proved a trouble is witnessed to by the fact that when the lower Irmin Street in Watermoor was met with sixty years back by the engineers, it was noticed to be carried on a ridge raised above the natural soil-level.

But I have here only to do with the name *Lewes*, otherwise known until our day as the *Leauses*, and sometimes (though only by an easy confusion) as *Leasowes*. The pronunciation of *Leauses* is of extreme interest, and the spelling likewise; though the other spelling, *Le Lewes*, goes back a very long way, even to 1340, or the later Norman-English time. Many besides myself probably have heard a British traveller pronounce *vaches* (*cows*) in two syllables. Whenever we find the definite article before a place-name it is always of peculiar interest. Here we have it (though dropped to-day) in the Norman-French *Le*: consequently, *The Leauses* or *Lewes* represented something, some positive feature, of the locality lying west of Dyer Street (and in continuation of Foss-way towards the Bull-ring), of an enduring character, and right in the centre of the Roman-British town. What was that?

The form in which the French term *eau,* meaning *water*, would appear in Norman-French is *ewe*, plural *ewes*: and as the meaning of the term *Les ewes—the waters*, though perfectly clear to the learned monks of the Abbey and to manor officials and owners, would cease very soon to be clear to English-speaking people (who dropped as they gladly did more and more the imposed foreign forms), it would quite naturally assume the common form of *Le ewes*; or, compacter, *Lewes*; but we have already noted that the English form *Leauses* struggled a very long time for survival, though its (now clear) meaning had quite vanished. As we remarked, the rather similiar Saxon term *Leasowes* (meaning pastures), has not failed to look in (Rudder has it), in order to supply a wanted meaning. *Lewes*, then, may be quite well the contracted form of *Les eaux* (N.Fr. *ewes*).

Consequently, our familiar friend *Lewis* is really the proper 13th century term that marked and denoted the water-usurpations of this classic site during the middle-ages, and thus it is closely

related to modern *Watermoor*: and it was then heard by every inhabitant here in the time of King John. Let me take the names of no less than three in a Ciceter Jury of (c) 1210. The first is Thomas of the Moor; the ninth is Robert of the Lake; and the eleventh is Michael of the Moor: in the same deed occurs Richard *de aqua*—of the water. In an Edwardian grant (1340) *Le Lewes* is situated (as we should expect) on the edge of the moor or mere, and that is the reason why Dyer-street could not go straight in its course eastward, but had perforce to turn left to the former Foss-Gate or London-road. It also fully accounts for the disappearance of streets following the Roman lines of rectangular blocks, across the town as at Gloucester.

Happening to be in correspondence with Prof. A. Mawer of Liverpool University (Director of the Place-Name Survey of English Counties), I drew his attention to this, my conjecture, though not without some apprehension. However, he not only confirms, but strikingly corroborates it by acquainting me with the fact that the Sussex *Lewes*, by a process of folk-etymology, was evidently in the middle-ages regarded as the equivalent of the Norman-French *Les ewes*; for it was latinized *laquis*.

St. Clair Baddeley.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

It is proposed to record in the *Transactions* recent publications relating to Gloucestershire, and Members will render service if they will draw attention to any which come under their notice. In a county such as Gloucestershire it is impossible for any one person to know of every publication issued, but with the co-operation of our Members, who collectively represent almost every part of it, much may be done. Such assistance will be most helpful in the preparation of the Supplement to the Manual of Gloucestershire Literature, which is referred to elsewhere. Communications should be addressed to Mr. Roland Austin, 38, Brunswick Road, Gloucester.

The notes which follow are intended to indicate only the scope of the several works mentioned and do not pretend to be in the nature of reviews.

THE ASSOCIATION OF THE BERKELEYS WITH BRISTOL CATHEDRAL. Reprinted from Bristol Times and Mirror, 29th December, 1922. Price sixpence, 1922. 8vo, pp. 18.

The notes on the close association of the Berkeley Family with Bristol Cathedral, written by Mr. J. J. Simpson, have been issued as a pamphlet with the object of assisting the Cathedral restoration scheme. In concise form are given the main facts of the foundation of the Augustinian Monastery by Robert Fitzharding (d. 1170), who bore the whole cost of the erection of the abbey church and monastic buildings. After his death, his eldest son Maurice, his grandson Robert, and later lords of Berkeley were constant benefactors to the abbey, one of them, Thomas Berkeley, building the Berkeley chapel. A copy of the pamphlet is in the Society's library.

BY ROAD FROM CHELTENHAM TO OXFORD. With some account of the places near the route. By WILLIAM J. MONK, EVESHAM: W. & H. Smith, 1922. 8vo, pp. 96, advts. pp. lxx. (Price 8d. by post).

Mr. W. J. Monk is already well known as an enthusiatic writer about Burford and the adjacent district. The book now issued is in the nature of a descriptive guide to country familiar to those who live in Gloucestershire. The Andoversford district, Northleach, Aldsworth, and Taynton, precede the account of Burford,

to which more than one third of the book relates, the remaining part describing the road from Burford to Oxford.

CONCERNING CLIFTON. A historical narrative from Saxon times until the present day. By A. J. GREEN-ARMYTAGE. J. Baker & Son, Clifton, 1922. 8vo, pp. 80. (Price not stated).

Compiled by Mrs. Green-Armytage to commemorate the centenary of the present Parish Church of Clifton and for the benefit of the centenary fund. The history of the Manor and of the ancient parish church is presented in some detail and there are short accounts of the Hot Wells, the early postal service, Clifton College, and the Suspension Bridge. There are also some biographical notes of residents in Clifton who achieved varying degrees of fame. Some of the dates need the revision which doubtless would have been given had the writer lived to see the book through the Press. The book has several illustrations.

A COTSWOLD HAMLET. Some account of the village and church of Woolstone, Gloucestershire, by JOHN ALEXANDER TEMPLE, a Colonel in H.M. Indian Army. With ten illustrations from original sketches and a plan (to scale) of the Church. [1922, printed for private circulation], by J. English, Ltd., 31 High Street, Folkstone, sm. 4to, pp. 32.

One by one the histories of Gloucestershire's parishes are being written by those who through residence or other connexion are led to collect the facts which may be gathered from national and local records. The local connexion in this instance is close, for Colonel Temple's mother lived in Woolstone for some years, and there he was born and spent the early part of his life. Woolstone, situated only a few miles from Cheltenham, is one of the villages on the Cotswolds which, even in these days of universal travel by one mode or other, still preserves the peacefulness of the English countryside. Colonel Temple has collected many interesting records of the history of the manor, and gives a detailed description of the church. A list of incumbents from 1269, taken from the diocesan registers of Worcester and Gloucester, is given. The illustrations are particularly good, being reproduced from paintings made between 1840 and 1845 by the author's father Richard Temple, and from his own sketches.

The book was written for private circulation, only fifty copies being printed. Colonel Temple has kindly presented one to the Society's library at Gloucester.

LA FOREST OF DEAN. Par MLLE. ANDREE CHOVEAUX. *Annales de Géographie*, 15 Mai, 1922, pp. 215-33. (Paris Librarie Armand Colin).

The suggestion of one of the Professeurs of the Sorbonne to Mlle. Choveaux, who was about to take a post in a school in the vicinity of the Forest of Dean, that she should work on the natural history of the area, was accepted by one who came to the district with knowledge of its topography gained through study in Paris and at the British Museum. This, combined with personal investigation, which included a descent into one of the mines, has resulted in an essay which shows thoroughness in all its details. The footnotes indicate an exhaustive study of the literature relating to the Forest. In a condensed form Mlle. Choveaux presents a survey of the physical features, the industries, the inhabitants and their customs, which may be read with profit, and perhaps induce some of our English students to pay more attention to this interesting part of England than has been done hitherto.

ORDNANCE SURVEY. Professional papers—new series, no. 6. Notes on archæological information incorporated in the Ordnance Survey maps. Part I. The Long Barrows and Stone Circles in the area covered by sheet 8 of the ¼ inch map (the Cotswolds and the Welsh Marches). By O. G. S. CRAWFORD, B.A., F.S.A., Archæology Officer, Ordnance Survey. With map and diagrams. H.M. Stationery Office, 1922. 4/6 net. 4to, pp. 12.

The list compiled by Mr. O. G. S. Crawford is the result of his personal observations and research during the revision of the six-inch survey of Gloucestershire in 1920, and is a valuable contribution to the bibliography of pre-historic remains in the district covered. It was prepared in connexion with the scheme of introducing on the Ordnance Survey a scientific system of classification which should differentiate between two radically distinct types of burial mounds—Long Barrows and Round Barrows—and is issued for the guidance of workers in this branch of field-study. Mr. Crawford's introduction is confined to the discussion of the features of the Long Barrows, of which 49 out of the 71 recorded in the area mapped occur in Gloucestershire, and are situated on the Cotswolds. The other counties included are Berkshire (2), Brecon (8), Hereford (2), Monmouth (3), Oxford (5), and Warwick (1). There are seven stone circles recorded, none of which are in Gloucestershire.

The list gives the position on the six-inch sheet, latitude, longitude, height above sea level, Witts' number, whether marked

on previous editions of the survey, and references to printed descriptions.

Diagrams, some from fresh measurements, of sixteen barrows are given, ten being in Gloucestershire, and the map is marked with references to the Barrows and Circles named in the list.

BECKFORD CHURCH (in the County of Gloucester). By one of its Wardens. [H. E. Foll.] 1922. 8vo, pp. 20.

A concise account of the church, describing its architectural features, plate, bells, brasses and tablets. A fairly complete list of incumbents from 1235—though with a gap of 111 years from 1409—compiled from the Worcester and Gloucester diocesan records is given.

THE HISTORY OF THE ROYAL GLOUCESTERSHIRE HUSSARS YEOMANRY, 1898-1922. The great Cavalry Campaign in Palestine. By FRANK FOX. With maps and illustrations. London: Philip Allan, 1923. 8vo, pp. xvi, 336, 15 plates and folding map. £1 1s.

A record continuing the history of the Regiment from the year closing Col. W. H. Wyndham Quin's *Yeomanry Cavalry of Gloucestershire and Monmouth* (1898). The first seven chapters deal with the South African War and the period of the re-organisation of the Regiment. The remainder of the volume sets out in full detail the notable services of the Hussars in the Great War in the campaigns of Gallipoli, Egypt, and Palestine.

The absence of an index in such a work is a serious defect.

BICENTENARY GLOUCESTER JOURNAL. 9th April, 1722-8th April, 1922. Editorial note by H. GODWIN CHANCE, M.A. Historical Record by ROLAND AUSTIN (Librarian, Gloucester Public Library), with reminiscences by the Staff, tributes by Public Men, and Newspaper Appreciations. Chance and Bland, Ltd., Gloucester, 1922. 4to, pp. 146. Price, one shilling.

There are very few instances—probably not more than seven at most—in English journalism of continuous publication of a provincial newspaper for two hundred years, and the celebration of this event by the proprietors of the *Gloucester Journal*, the first number of which was published on the 9th April, 1722, was quite rightly made of special significance. The occasion was marked by the issue of a brochure-reprint of the historical supplement presented to the public with the paper for the 8th April, 1922.

With the tremendous circulation far and wide of the London press of to-day the value of the local newspaper to the country-side is much diminished, but it still stands as the chronicle of events, of varying importance as they may be, which go to make up the history of its district. Still more important for the past history of a City is a file of a paper such as the *Gloucester Journal*, beginning as it did in the days when the newspaper was almost the sole link between the town and the humbler population which enjoyed none of the means of movement possessed now by practically every village and hamlet in the kingdom. Owing to the special study which has been given to the *Gloucester Journal* by the writer of the Historical Record—very largely through the kindness of Captain A. W. Clifford, the possessor of the only known file of the early years of the paper—there is now available a record of facts which can hardly be equalled by any journal in the country, and the value of the history will increase as years go by. The brochure is illustrated with reproductions of titles, and portraits of proprietors.

A chronological appendix, prepared by direct reference to each issue mentioned, presents in concise form practically every change in connexion with the long history of the paper.

WORCESTERSHIRE. By F. T. S. Houghton, M.A., F.S.A., F.G.S. With twenty-four illustrations, two plans and two maps, 1922. sm. 8vo, pp. x, 248. (Methuen, 6s. net.)

The *Little Guides* series is now completed so far as English counties are concerned by the issue of the volume for Worcestershire, which will be of interest to the members of a Society whose area touches that county at so many points. Mr. Houghton has spared no pains in order to obtain accurate information, for besides using acknowledged authorities on the history and topography of the county he has visited nearly every place mentioned in his book, and his own intimate knowledge is evident throughout. He has also secured the help of many well known archæologists.

The arrangement of the guide follows the plan now familiar to all who have used this series. It is well to note the writer's warning that the distances from towns are measured in a "*bee-line*," a method which, unless regarded, may lead to miscalculation on the part of pedestrians. The maps, plans, and illustrations add to the usefulness of the volume.

Obituary.

FRANCIS WERE.

The death of Francis Were removes from the Society a member who in one particular branch of its varied interests can hardly be replaced. For many years he has been regarded as the authority in all matters relating to heraldry, and his wide knowledge, seldom sought in vain, was always readily given to all inquirers.

Francis Were, son of Thomas Bonville and Frances Anne (Wright) Were, was born at Clifton, on the 19th March, 1841. He was sent first to a preparatory school at Weymouth and from there to Rugby School (1855-59), where one of his hobbies was the collection of coins. When quite a young man he met with a severe accident while riding, and an outdoor life became necessary. In 1863 he began farming in Hampshire and for some years interested himself in agricultural and horticultural pursuits. He was also a good amateur carpenter. In 1868 he removed to Gratwicke Hall, Flax Bourton, where he associated himself with the village life and welfare, being a generous and helpful benefactor in every movement, and was a keen supporter of local cricket. From 1905 until 1909, Mr. Were resided at Callingwood Hall, Burton-on-Trent, with his brother (E. A. Were), the Bishop of Derby. In the latter year he removed to Walnut Tree House, Stoke Bishop, and there spent the rest of his life, dying on the 25th February, 1923, at the age of 81.

Mr. Were joined the Society in 1898, and from the first actively identified himself with its work, being one of the most familiar figures at the Spring and Summer meetings, and the evening meetings held at Bristol. He

was elected a member of Council in 1902, seldom missing its meetings, or those of the committees on which he sat.

The reports of the Society's proceedings for many years were enriched by the descriptions of the heraldry in the churches and other buildings visited which he contributed to the *Transactions*. The most important work which he undertook was the Index to Bigland's *Genealogical Collections of the County of Gloucester*, a laborious task which must have involved many long months of application. The value of Bigland is greatly enhanced by Mr. Were's ungrudging labour. The Index was published by the Society as the second part of vol. 28 of the *Transactions*, occupying over 460 pages of close type. The writer of this note has a vivid recollection of the work entailed by this one part when preparing the general index (vols. xxi-xl).

Though his physical powers were noticeably lessening, Mr. Were was never daunted, and attended the general meetings held last year. He will be remembered for his gentleness, unfailing kindness, and invariable readiness to give of his abundant knowledge.

R.A.

CHRISTOPHER BOWLY.

By the death of Mr. Christopher Bowly of Siddington House, near Cirencester, on 23rd May, 1922, the Society loses one more of the fast dwindling ranks of original members. He became a life member of the Society at its foundation in 1876, and for many years acted as local secretary for Cirencester and district. He was appointed a Vice-President in 1903, and gave constant help as a member of the Council. Mr. Bowly took great delight in antiquarian and archæological studies, being an acknowledged authority on the Romano-British and Medieval periods. For many years he acted as Curator of the Corinium Museum at Cirencester, following in 1879

Mr. (later *Sir*) A. H. Church. During his curatorship he was instrumental in adding many exhibits to the Museum, including an inscribed stone of much interest. During the earlier years of the Society's work Mr. Bowly was a constant attendant at the General meetings and excursions, his tall and upright figure been noticeable in any assembly.

Mr. Bowly was a keen observer of natural history, and at his death was the oldest member of the Cotteswold Naturalists' Field Club, having been elected so long back as 1859. In 1919 the Club visited the Roman Villa at Chedworth, where Mr. Bowly referred to the fact that it was the sixtieth anniversary of his joining the Club.

He was a Member of the Royal Anthropological Society, which he joined in 1871.

Mr. Bowly was the younger son of Mr. William Crotch Bowly, who was the eldest brother of Messrs. Edward, David, and Samuel Bowly, the latter being the well known philanthropist and temperance reformer of Gloucester. He was one of the last survivors of the Cirencester Society of Friends, with which his family had always been identified. He died at the ripe age of 85.

E.C.S.

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1923 Fawcett, Prof. E., F.R.S., The University, Bristol.
1923 Fielding, Mrs. Frank, Lamorna, Tuffley Avenue, Gloucester.
1916 Fielding, John, Broadsground, Upton St. Leonard's.
1915 Finlay, D. E., M.B., Wellsdene, Park Road, Gloucester.
1920 Fish, Arthur C., Sunny View Cottage, Marksbury, nr. Bristol.
1919 Forbes, Barre R. M., 9 Beaufort Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1901 **Ford, Roger**, Cotham Park, Bristol.
1922 Ford-Mellows, Capt. F., 19 Shirley Road, W. 4.
1922 Francillon, Mrs. Phyllis, Woodmancote House, Dursley.
1923 Francis, Edward, Westcote, Charlton Lane, Cheltenham.
1914 Francis, G. C., St. Tewdric, Chepstow.
1919 Frankiss, Charles, 14 Church Street, Tewkesbury.
1922 French, C. H., 41 Downleaze, Bristol.
1922 French, Mrs. C. H., 41 Downleaze, Bristol.
1910 Fripp, W. D., 111 Pembroke Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1923 Frost, Miss Eleanor M., The Red House, Almondobury, Bristol.
1920 Fry, A. M., 8 Sion Hill, Clifton, Bristol.
1901 Fry, Claude Basil, Hannington Hall, Highworth, Wiltshire.
1901 ***Fryer, Alfred C., Ph.D., and M.A. Leipsic, F.S.A.**, 13 Eaton Crescent, Clifton, Bristol.
1905 Fryer, Miss Gertrude A., 13 Eaton Crescent, Clifton, Bristol.
1914 Fyffe, Edward Wathen, Trullwell, Box, Stroud, Glos.
1922 Fyffe, Miss G. I., Trullwell, Box, Stroud, Glos.

1911 Gardiner, J., The Elms, Rudgeway, Bristol.
1897 George, Ch. W., 51 Hampton Road, Redland, Bristol.
1884 **Gibbs, H. Martin**, Barrow Court, Flax Bourton, Bristol.
1920 Gibbs, Lt.-Col. George A., M.P., D.L., Tyntesfield, Bristol.
1920 Gilbert, W. N., 16 Claremont Road, Bishopston, Bristol.
1922 *Gloucester, The Mayor of (J. O. Roberts), Rikenel, Gloucester.
1918 *Gloucester, The Very Rev. The Dean of, F.S.A., The Deanery, Gloucester.

)00 *Godfrey, F. W., The Cross House, Tewkesbury.
)19 *Goldingham, H., Innocks, North Nibley, Wotton-under-Edge.
)10 Goodall, Rev. Canon R. W., 6 Victoria Square, Clifton, Bristol.
)18 Goodwyn, Canon F. W., M.A., College Green, Gloucester.
)20 Gough, A. R., F.R.I.B.A., Compton Lodge, 98 Hampton Road, Bristol.
)19 Gough, W., Nore Marsh, Wootton Bassett, Wilts.
)23 Grahame, Miss M., 21 Cornwallis Crescent, Clifton, Bristol.
)22 Gray, B. C., Northend, High Street, Tewkesbury.
)12 Grenside, Rev. F. R., M.A., The Close, Minchinhampton, Glos.
)21 Grigg, A. E., 16 West Shrubbery, Redland, Bristol.
)14 Griffiths, John S., M.R.C.S. Eng., 20 Redland Park, Redland, Bristol.
)23 Griffiths, Martin, 24 Broad Street, Bristol.
)03 **Grosvenor, Wilshaw W., M.A., M.D.,** Granville House, The Spa, Gloucester.
)22 **Gueterbock, P. G. J., M.A., D.S.O., M.C.,** Ivywell, Stoke Bishop, Bristol.
)20 Guise, Sir Anselm, Bart., Elmore Court, Gloucester.
)19 **Gummer, Horace,** Herbert Lodge, Cotham Park, Bristol.
)93 Gurney, W. Gerald, LL.B., 12 Wellington Square, Cheltenham.
)10 Gwynn, J. Crowther, 2 Dr. Johnson's Buildings, Temple, London.
)14 Gwynn, Captain H. N., 3 All Saints' Court, Exchange, Bristol.

)18 Haines, J. W., Midhurst, Hucclecote, Gloucester.
)23 Hall, Vincent, B.A., 19 Camelford Road, Greenbank, Bristol.
)77 **Hallett, J. G. P. Palmer, M.A.**, Claverton Lodge, Bath.
)79 **Hallett, Mrs.**, Claverton Lodge, Bath.
)14 Hamilton-Smith, G., Northside, Leigh Woods, Bristol.
)21 Hannam-Clark, T., 4 Lansdown Place, Cheltenham.
)76 **Harding, Rev. Canon John Taylor, M.A.**, Pentwyn, Monmouth.
)20 Harding, Miss E. M., Bower Ashton, near Bristol.
)22 Hardy, C. C., 13 Westbury Park, Bristol.
)07 Harley, Edw. Mortimer, 4 Harley Place, Clifton, Bristol.
)19 *Harmer, W. Scotford, Riverscourt, Cirencester.
)21 Harris, G. F., 23 Malvern Road, Gloucester.
)20 Harris, H. Elwin, B.A., M.B. (Cantab.), F.R.C.S. Eng., 13 Lansdown Place, Clifton, Bristol.
)76 Hartland, Ernest, M.A., F.S.A., Hardwick Court, Chepstow (*Hon. Member*).
)90 *Hartland, E. Sidney, LL.D., F.S.A., 13 Alexandra Road, Gloucester (*Vice-Chairman of Council*).
)23 Harvey, Henry, 26 Lansdown Crescent, Cheltenham.
)21 Harward, Miss M. F., The Halcyon Club, 14 Cork Street, London, W.1
)19 Hawkins, F. C., 28 Ravenswood Road, Bristol.
)01 Hawkins, J. G., Brierley Grange, Staunton, Gloucester.
)23 Hayes, H. C., Coombe House, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol.
)04 Hayward, Col. J. F. Curtis, Quedgeley House, Gloucester.
)15 Healing, Samuel H., Spring Bottom, Charlton Kings, Cheltenham.
)23 Hedges, Mrs. E. M. Bourne, The Dingle, Upper Slaughter, Gloucester.
)76 Herapath, Major Howard M., 2 St. John's Road, Clifton, Bristol.

1900 **Herbert, Arthur Grenville,** Paradise House, Painswick, Stroud.
1900 **Herbert, W. Hawkins,** Paradise House, Painswick, Stroud.
1911 Hicks, Miss G. E., Cotswold House, Park Road, Gloucester.
1900 Higgins, Henry, Willsbridge House, Bristol.
1919 Higham, E. J. G., Westbury Lodge, Durdham Down, Bristol.
1911 Hignett, Geoffrey, Hodshill Hall, South Stoke, Bath.
1911 Hignett, Mrs. Geoffrey, Hodshill Hall, South Stoke, Bath.
1914 Hill, Mrs. Burrow, Oakhurst, Leigh Woods, Bristol.
1919 Hill, W. Norton, 23 Carnarvon Road, Bristol.
1919 Hill, Hedley, M.D., 101 Pembroke Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1901 Hirst, Francis J., M.A., Bampton, Oxon.
1901 Hirst, H. C. M., A.R.I.B.A., 36 Henleaze Gardens, Westbury-on Trym, Bristol.
1919 Hobart-Bird, W., New Club, Cheltenham.
1912 Hockaday, Miss E. W., Highbury, Lydney, Glos.
1907 ***Hockaday, F. S., F.R.Hist.Soc.,** Highbury, Lydney, Glos.
1919 Holborow, Arthur, Burnage, Bath Road, Stroud.
1903 **Holford, Lieut.-Col. Sir G. L., K.C.V.O.,** c/o D. Lindsay, Esq., Estat Office, Tetbury, Glos.
1920 Holland, Miss Julia, Brand Lodge, Colwall.
1923 Holms, J M., C.S.I., Nubie House, Lansdown, Cheltenham.
1911 Hope-Edwards, Mrs., Wharton Lodge, near Ross, Herefordshire.
1912 Horder, P. Morley, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., 5 Arlington Street, St James's, S.W.1.
1905 Hore, Mrs. A. H., 22 Lansdown Terrace, Cheltenham.
1922 Hornby, Miss Beatrix, Chalford Hill, Stroud.
1921 Hosegood, Hugh L.E., Pendennis, Rockleaze, Bristol.
1923 Houghton, F. T. S., M.A., F.S.A., F.G.S., 188 Hagley Road, Edgbastor Birmingham.
1903 Household, H. W., M.A., Stowell House, Charlton Kings, Cheltenham
1903 Howell, Jas. H., 118 Pembroke Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1915 Howell, Miss M. E. C., 32 Regent's Park Road, London, N.W.1.
1921 Hunt, H. W., 14 Belgrave Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1919 Hunter, A. A., Devonshire House, Mont ellier Drive, Cheltenham.
1911 *Hurry, A. E., Hempsted Court, Gloucester.
1923 Hutton, Miss H. M., The Manor, Dursley, Gloucester.
1880 *Hyett, Sir F. A., Painswick House, Stroud, Glos. (*Hon. Member*).

1922 Iles, Mrs. E. A., 27 Beaufort Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1918 Irwin, Rev. W. M., D.D., Kingswood Rectory, Wotton-under-Edge
1891 **Isacke, Miss,** Stratford Abbey College, Stroud, Glos.
1912 Ivens, H. P., 18 Alexandra Road, Clifton, Bristol.

1919 Jackman, J. C., Breadstone, nr. Berkeley.
1920 Jackson, Mrs. W. G., Broughtons, Newnham.
1919 James, Walter, Avongrove, Sneyd Park, Bristol.
1922 Jeffcoat, Rev. R., M.A., 5 Berkeley Square, Clifton, Bristol.
1912 Jenkins, Edgar J., Manor House, Whitchurch, Bristol.
1919 Jenks, Edward, M.A., B.C.L., 133 Church Street, Kensington, W.8
1917 Jenner-Fust, Rev. Denton, M.A., Hill Vicarage, Falfield, Glos.

1906 *Jenner-Fust, Herbert, M.A., Hill Court, Falfield, Glos.
1911 Jeune, Col. E. B., D.L., Whaddon Manor, Gloucester.
1911 Jeune, Mrs. E. B., Whaddon Manor, Gloucester.
1904 Johnson, Miss H. T., Ellesmere Lodge, The Park, Cheltenham.
1922 Johnston, Miss G. L. Keith.
1893 Johnstone-Vaughan, W. J., The Old Rectory, Wotton, Gloucester.
1911 *Jones, Averay N., 50 Pembroke Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1920 **Jones, Miss Lilian B.**, Foxfield, Lechlade, Glos.
1907 *Jones, Rev. Canon R. C. S., The Vicarage, Fairford, Glos.
1913 **Jones, Walter, H.M.A.**, Morgan Hall, Fairford, Glos.
1888 Judge, Frederick, 159 Cheltenham Road, Bristol.

1922 Kelley, Rev. W. S., M.A., Woodmancote Court, Dursley, Glos.
1911 *Kerr, Lt.-Col. Russell J., B.A., The Haie, Newnham-on-Severn.
1912 Keyser, Chas. E., M.A., F.S.A., Aldermaston Court, near Reading.
1910 King, J. E., M.A., Litt.D., Clifton College, Clifton, Bristol.
1922 King, Mrs. Hubert, Newmarket Court, Nailsworth, Glos.
1922 King, H. J. H., Newmarket Court, Nailsworth, Glos.
1901 Knowles, Henry, Egerton House, The Spa, Gloucester.
1923 Knowles, W. H., F.S.A., Well Close, Lansdown Parade, Cheltenham.

1916 Lambert, Uvedale, M.A., F.R.Hist.Soc., South Park Farm, Blechingley, Surrey.
1921 Langford, G., 2 Elgin Park, Bristol.
1923 Langhorne, W. H., College Cottage, Chalford, Stroud.
1910 Langley, Rev. E., 83 Down's Park East, Bristol.
1921 Langley-Smith, W., Wotton Hill House, Gloucester.
1920 Lawson, V. A., St. Ringers, Cirencester.
1914 Leach, Richard Ernest, M.A., Fairview, Painswick, Stroud.
1910 *Leighton, W., 7 Kensington Place, Clifton, Bristol (*Secretary for Bristol*).
1906 Leonard, Professor Geo. Hare, M.A., 1 Prince's Buildings, Clifton, Bristol.
1904 Levy-Langfield, A., 12 Whiteladies Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1923 Lewarne, Dr. F., Stone Croft, Cricklade, Wiltshire.
1923 Lewarne, Mrs. M. P., Stone Croft, Cricklade, Wiltshire.
1876 Lewis, Archibald M., 14 Tyndalls Park Road, Bristol.
1918 Lewis, W. J., 13 Henleaze Road, Durdham Down, Bristol.
1920 Lister, Sir R. Ashton, The Towers, Dursley.
1880 Little, E. P., Whitemoor, Amberley, Stroud, Glos.
1907 **Little, F. A.**, Atcombe Court, Woodchester, Stroud, Glos.
1914 Littledale, Col., Ravenhurst, Cheltenham
1913 Littledale, T. A. R., Wiltondale, Ross-on-Wye.
1911 **Liverpool, Rt. Hon. the Earl of**, Kirkham Abbey, Yorkshire.
1921 Lloyd, Rev. W. W., 36 Lansdown Crescent, Cheltenham.
1876 Lloyd-Baker, Granville E., Hardwicke Court, Gloucester
1917 **Lobbett, A. J. R.**, Henbury Hill, Bristol.
1919 Locock, H. T., 4 Clifton Park, Clifton, Bristol.
1886 Long, Col. William, C.M.G., Newton House, Clevedon.
1921 Lowson, J. G. F., Quarwood, Stow-on-the-Wold, Glos.
1910 Lyddon, F. S., 5 Beaufort Road, Clifton, Bristol.

1911 LYSAGHT, W. R., Castleford, Chepstow.

1913 McARTHUR, REV. C., M.A., Strathdurn, Cheltenham.
1921 MACKENZIE, L. S., 63 Queen Square, Bristol.
1922 **Mackinlay, Mrs. H. M.**, Bencombe House, Uley, Glos.
1921 MADAN, MISS EDITH H., 13 College Green, Gloucester.
1919 MADGE, WALTER H., LL.B., 34 Brunswick Road, Gloucester.
1922 MALCOLM, L. W. G., F.R.S.E., F.R.G.S., Museum and Art Gallery Bristol.
1902 **Mardon, Heber**, Cliffden, Teignmouth, Devon.
1907 MARGETSON, JACK, Brightside, Stroud, Glos.
1888 MARLING, STANLEY, Stanley Park, Stroud, Glos.
1904 MARMONT, B. P., Windsoredge House, Inchbrook, Stroud, Glos.
1922 MARSHALL, GEORGE, The Manor House, Breinton, Hereford.
1908 MARSLAND, ELLIS, 32 Camberwell Grove, London, S.E.5.
1922 MARTIN, A. TRICE, M.A,. F.S.A., 11 Vyvyan Terrace, Clifton, Bristol
1919 MARTIN, G. PALLISER, 107 Pembroke Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1901 MARTIN, DR. J. M., The Tower House, Pittville Circus, Cheltenham.
1918 MARTIN, R. HOLLAND, F.S.A., Overbury Court, Tewkesbury.
1888 MASTER, MRS. CHESTER, The Hill, Almondsbury, Glos.
1923 MATTHEWS, F. H., The Pools, Broadway.
1923 MATTHEWS, Mrs. F. H., The Pools, Broadway.
1919 MATTHEWS, T. G., Newport Towers, Berkeley.
1922 MAWDSLEY, R. H., 80 Pembroke Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1892 **Meredith, W. L.**, 2 Vistla Cottage, Penllyne, Cowbridge, Glam.
1911 METCALFE, T. T. S., Claydon House, Lechlade.
1923 METFORD, LT.-COL. F. K. S., O.B.E., Fox Elms, Matson, Gloucester.
1920 MICHELL, GEORGE B., Frampton-on-Severn, Glos.
1923 MILBOURN, A. R., M.A., Colston's School, Stapleton, Bristol.
1902 **Miles, P. Napier**, Kingsweston, near Bristol.
1921 MILLER, P. F., The Elms, Coombe Dingle, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol.
1912 MILLS, REV. C. C., D.D., The Rectory, Dursley.
1880 MILLS, H. HAMILTON, Sudgrove House, Cirencester.
1919 MITCHELL, ALEXANDER, M.D., Norton Bury, Wotton, Gloucester.
1900 **Moffatt, H. C.**, Hamptworth Lodge, nr. Salisbury.
1913 MOFFATT, MRS., Goodrich Court, Ross.
1920 MOORE, T. W., Battledown, Tewkesbury.
1919 MOORE, Rev. W. E., M.A., Randwick Vicarage, Glos.
1921 MORLEY, L. J., 25 Clifton Wood Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1919 MORRIS, MISS H., 6 Beaufort Buildings, Gloucester.
1919 MOTTRAM, MISS M. U., Lemsford, Leckhampton Road, Cheltenham.

1920 NAPIER, H. B., Hobwell, Long Ashton, Bristol.
1923 NAYLOR, REV. H. S., 6 Montpellier Villas, Cheltenham.
1922 NEWMAN, HERBERT, Rockness, Nailsworth, Glos.
1922 Newman, Miss H. M., Sutton House, Howard St., Gloucester.
1902 *NOEL, COL. W. F. N., Stardens, Newent, Glos.
1906 NORGROVE, WALTER, 22 Alma Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1896 NORRIS, HERBERT E., The Market Place, Cirencester.

1902 *Oatley, G. H., F.R.I.B.A., Church House, Clifton, Bristol.
1889 *Oman, Sir C. W. C., K.B.E., M.P., M.A., M.B.A., F.S.A., Frewin Hall, Oxford.
1903 *Osborn, J. Lee, F.R.Hist.Soc., Staples Hill Bungalow, Freshford, Bath.
1902 Overbury, Major Thos., Doric House, St. Mark's, Cheltenham.

1909 Paddison, R. O., Bownham, Stroud, Glos.
1902 **Page, Arthur W.**, 2 Bristol Chambers, St. Nicholas Street, Bristol.
1903 Paine, A. E. W., 6 Wellington Square, Cheltenham.
1920 Painter, Brig.-Gen. A. C., C.M.G., Hambrook House, Charlton Kings, Glos.
1912 **Palmer, Albert J.**, Fairford Park, Fairford, Glos.
1908 **Parker, George, M.A., M.D.**, 14 Pembroke Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1921 Parker, H. A. M., M.A. (Cantab), 3 Blenheim Road, Redland, Bristol.
1913 **Parry, Miss Edith,** Witton Villa, Droitwich.
1903 Parsons, H. F., M.R.C.S.Eng., The Heath, Sneyd Park, Clifton, Bristol.
1905 Pavey, Miss Alice, 12 The Avenue, Clifton, Bristol.
1920 **Pavey-Smith, G. H.**, The Hollies, Nailsworth.
1920 Pearce, H. A., Silverdale, Hucclecote, Gloucester.
1922 Pearce, Walter T., Melville Lodge, Graham Road, Weston-super-Mare.
1920 Penberthy, Major John, Dean Hall, Littledean, Glos.
1907 ***Penley, R. H., B.A.**, Rockstowes, Uley, Glos.
1910 Penny, Rev. L. P., Diocesan Church House, Gloucester.
1919 Percival, Miss A. M., Frampton Court, Frampton Cotterell.
1919 Percival, Mrs. D. K., Whitehall, Pembroke, S. Wales.
1919 Percival, Mrs. Philip, The High House, Uley, Glos.
1905 Perry, Miss M. P., 13 Trelawney Road, Cotham, Bristol.
1912 Phillipps, Miss I. O., Picton House, Broadway, Worcs.
1919 Phillips, Rev. E. J., M.A., Coalpit Heath, Bristol.
1883 **Pitcairn, Rev. D. Lee, M.A.**, 1 Laura Place, Bath.
1921 Poole, A. L., M.A., St. John's College, Oxford.
1920 Pooley, Henry, Durdham Lodge, Downleaze, Bristol.
1911 ***Powell, A, Cecil**, The Hermitage, Weston-super-Mare.
1915 Price, Rees, F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot., Bannits, Broadway, Worcestershire.
1919 Price, W. R., B.A., F.L.S., Pen Moel, Chepstow.
1886 *Pritchard, John E., F.S.A., 22 St. John's Road, Clifton, Bristol. (*Chairman of Council*).
1919 Pritchard, O. W. Mostyn, Isle of Rhé, North Nibley, Glos.

1920 Quick, Richard, F.S.A. (Scot.), Russell-Cotes Art Gallery, Bournemouth.

1920 Radcliffe, H. S., Ulcombe Lodge, Saltford, Bath.
1922 Raikes, T. A., Talbots End, Cromhall, Glos.
1922 Ranger, Gilbert O., Coln Rogers, Bibury, Glos.
1923 Rankin, H. C. R., Brunslow, Lydbury North, Shropshire.
1913 Ratcliff, Miss C. Lilian, O.B.E., Southam de la Bere, Prestbury, Glos.
1913 Ratcliff, Miss Phyllis, Southam de la Bere, Prestbury, Glos.

1919 Rawlins, J. E., Syston Court, Mangotsfield, Bristol.
1920 Reynardson, H. F. Birch, Rudge Hill House, nr. Stroud.
1919 Ricardo, Lt.-Col. H. G., Gatcombe, Minchinhampton.
1919 Richards, M. J., The Croft, Gresham Road, Staines.
1904 Richardson, Frank, 15 Percival Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1923 Ripley, Mrs. F. A., Ampney Crucis, Cirencester.
1909 Rixon, W. A., Turkdean Manor, Northleach, Glos.
1893 **Robbins, Rev. John,** 24 Sheffield Terrace, Campden Hill, London, W.8
1923 Roberts, Miss A. M., Applegarth, Bussage, Stroud.
1916 Roberts, Rev. Edward, Fairseat, Sedlescombe Road, St. Leonards.
1919 Robertson, Rev. J. H., Syston Rectory, Mangotsfield, Bristol.
1914 Robinson, Foster G., Grove House, Clifton Hill, Bristol.
1914 Robinson, Harold G., Cote, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol.
1904 Robinson, W. G., Parklands, Stonehouse, Glos.
1909 Rogers, T. Percival, Friezewood, Rudgeway, Bristol.
1921 Romney, Mrs. F. W., Waveridge, Malvern.
1901 Roper, Miss I. M., F.L.S., 4 Woodfield Road, Redland, Bristol.
1919 Roslyn, H. E., The Red Lodge, Park Row, Bristol.
1922 Rowe, Mrs. M. Y., Drayton Lodge, Henleaze, Bristol.
1922 Royden, Col. T. E., Winacres, Minchinhampton, Glos.
1914 Rudd, Miss M. A., Woodlands, Bussage, Stroud, Glos.
1920 Rudge, Dr. C. K., L.R.C.P.Lond., 145 Whiteladies Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1920 *Rushforth, G. McN., M.A., F.S.A., Riddlesden, Malvern Wells.
1923 Russell, S. B., Tower Close, Snowshill, Broadway.

1919 Sage, Frederic S., Carnanton, Julian Road, Stoke Bishop, Bristol.
1919 Salmon, Capt. H. Pomeroy, Tockington Manor, nr. Bristol.
1920 Sanders, T. E., Burleigh Cottage, Brimscombe, Stroud.
1919 Scott, Charles T., Ampney St. Peter, Cirencester.
1922 Scott, W. S., M.D., Irwell, Winchcombe, Glos.
1923 Serionne, G. de, St. Kenelm's Cottage, Stow-on-the-Wold, Glos.
1897 **Sessions, Herbert,** Quedgeley Court, Gloucester.
1876 ***Sewell, Edward C.,** The Beeches, Cirencester.
1905 **Seys, Mrs. Godfrey,** Wirewood's Green, Chepstow.
1910 Sharp, T. F., 20 Beaconsfield Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1876 Shaw, J. E., M.B., 23 Caledonia Place, Clifton, Bristol.
1914 Sherwood-Hale, Thomas Edward, Alderley, Wotton-under-Edge, [Glos.
1920 Sherborne, Right Hon. Lord, Sherborne House, Northleach.
1921 Sherborne, Lady, Sherborne House, Northleach.
1919 Shirley, S. A., Drinagh, Sneyd Park, Bristol.
1901 Shute, Mrs., Water Farm, Coleman's Hatch, Sussex.
1920 Simpson, J. H., Rendcomb College, Cirencester.
1881 *Simpson, J. J., Osborne House, Cotham Park, Bristol.
1919 Sinnott, Colonel E. S., C.M.G., Tuffley Grange, Gloucester.
1922 Siveter, Mrs., The Sheephouse, Tuffley, Gloucester.
1920 Smart, R. A., Rose Mede, Heathville Road, Gloucester.
1921 Smith, Canon H. M., M.A., 8 College Green, Gloucester.
1922 Smith, Rev. J. Outram, M.A., 8 College Green, Gloucester.
1880 Smith, Richard Henry, Woodchester House, Stroud, Glos.

1923 Smith, W. H. Legh, Council House, Bristol.
1902 Smithin, J. A., Cooper's Hill, Brockworth, Gloucester.
1902 Soutar, J. G., M.B., 20 Royal Parade, Cheltenham.
1910 Soyres, B. de, Newstead, Southfield Road, Westbury, Bristol.
1903 Spofforth, Fairfax, 21 Belgrave Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1923 Stagg, William, Brislington Vicarage, Bristol.
1912 **Stanton, A. W.**, Field Place, Stroud, Glos.
1919 Steadman, Percy, 122 Pembroke Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1920 Steadman, Vincent, 15 Belvedere Road, Bristol.
1890 Stephens, Albert J., Badgeworth Court, Gloucester.
1906 Stevens, Mrs., Springhill, Nailsworth, Glos.
1922 Stock, Mrs. M. S. McMurrough, Stoatshill, Uley, Glos.
1919 Stone, G. F., 18 Logan Road, Bishopston, Bristol.
1919 Stroud, J. S. G. W., The Mythe, Stoke Bishop, Bristol.
1921 Stroud, L. L., High Street, Tewkesbury,
1902 Sturge, Theodore, Fern Hollow, Rockleaze, Bristol.
1911 Sullivan, Rev. Ponsonby M., Rangeworthy Vicarage, Bristol.
1921 Sutton, Arthur, 11 Montrose Avenue, Redland, Bristol.
1914 Suverkrop, Miss E. A., Braeside, Symonds Yat, Ross.
1914 *Swynnerton, Rev. C., F.S.A., The Old House, Burleigh, nr. Stroud.
1919 Sykes, Robert, 3 Gloucester Row, Clifton, Bristol.

1884 ***Taylor, Rev. C. S., M.A., F.S.A.**, Banwell Vicarage, Somerset.
1901 **Taylor, Edmund J.**, Town Clerk, Council House, Bristol.
1910 Taylor, L. Goodenough, M.A., 19 Sion Hill, Clifton, Bristol.
1921 Taylor, W. J. P., 24 Clarendon Road, Redland, Bristol.
1918 Terry, H. Cairns, M.B., Hampden House, Barton St., Gloucester.
1911 Teesdale, Miss F. H., Whitminster House, Stonehouse.
1911 Thatcher, Wm. G., Lynwood, Brislington, Bristol.
1918 Thomas, H. Russell, Heneage Court, Falfield, Glos.
1911 **Thomas, J. Henry**, 2 Wedderburn House, Wedderburn Road, Hampstead, N.W.3.
1910 Thomas, W. K., 4 Hillside, Cotham Hill, Bristol.
1922 Thompson, A. Hamilton, M.A., F.S.A., 1 De Grey Terrace, Leeds.
1900 Thompson, Mrs., Endcliffe, Henbury, Bristol.
1904 Tidswell, R. I., Haresfield Court, Stonehouse, Glos.
1898 **Tinson, C. J.**, The Cleevelands, Marle Hill, Cheltenham.
1919 Titley, W. A., Wynton Lodge, Durdham Park, Bristol.
1923 Tod, James N., Dryleaze, Wotton-under-Edge.
1919 Todd, R. H., 4 Cecil Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1913 Trafford, G. R., B.A., Hill Court, Ross.
1922 Trye, Capt J. H., C.B.E., R.N., The Grotto, Leckhampton, Cheltenham.
1922 Trye, C. B., 11 North Grange Mount, Headingley, Leeds.
1901 Tryon, Stephen, Albion Chambers, Bristol.
1905 Tubbs, Stanley W., M.P., Ellerncroft, Wotton-under-Edge, Glos.
1913 Tuckett, Mrs. F. F., Frenchay, Bristol.
1921 Tuckett, J. E. S., M.A. (Cantab.), 12 Belvedere Road, Redland, Bristol.
1923 Tuckett, R. C., 26 Orchard Street, Bristol.
1919 Turner, A., Dunkirk Manor House, Amberley, Glos.

1919 TURNER, MRS. M., Dunkirk Manor House, Amberley, Glos.
1921 TWIGGS, H. W., 51 Woodstock Road, Redland, Bristol.
1909 TWINING, LLEWELLIN, 68 Woodstock Road, Bristol.
1921 TYRWHITT-WALKER, COL. J.

1904 VALE, HY., 16 Darlington Street, Wolverhampton.
1919 VASSALL, H. G., Oldbury Court, Fishponds, nr. Bristol.
1903 **Vaughan-Hughes, Gerald M.**, Wyelands, Chepstow.
1919 VEAL, REV. THOMAS, Stone Vicarage, Falfield, Glos.
1901 VEASEY, REV. A. H., The Cottage, Hampnett, Northleach, Glos.
1919 VEREY, REV. C. H., Gwynfa, Painswick, Stroud.
1906 **Vickers, Kenneth H.**, University College, Southampton.
1913 VYNER-ELLIS, MRS. G., Minsterworth Court, Gloucester.

1912 WADE, FREDERICK TAYLOR, 38 Apsley Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1897 **Wait, Lt.-Col. H. W. K.**, 2 Worcester Villas, Clifton, Bristol.
1923 WALKER, MISS M. S., B.A. (Lond.) Merlinhaven Lodge, Wotton-unde Edge, Glos.
1915 *WALKER, T. W., M.D., Constantine, Penrhyn, Cornwall.
1914 WALLER, MISS EDITH, Phœnix House, Stroud, Glos.
1876 *WALLER, F. W., 18 College Green, Gloucester.
1919 WALLER, MAJOR N. H., M.C., M.A., 18 College Green, Gloucester.
1913 WALTON, T. C. H., 18 West Park, Clifton, Bristol.
1923 WARD, F. W., Willow Lodge, Hempsted, Gloucester.
1902 WARD, H. W., 105 Pembroke Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1919 WARD, W. W., 6 Prince's Buildings, Clifton, Bristol.
1920 WARREN, ROBERT HALL, Coniston, Canynge Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1919 WARREN, MRS. ROBERT HALL, Coniston, Canynge Road, Clifton, Brist
1902 WATERMAN, A.N., M.A., Ince, Warwick's Bench, Guildford.
1904 WATSON, EDW. JAS., D. Litt., F.R.Hist.Soc., F.R.S.L., 12 John Stree Bristol.
1901 WATSON-WILLIAMS, P., M.D., 2 Rodney Place, Clifton, Bristol.
1923 WATT, MISS K., c/o G. Currie, Esq., Fernyside House, Lilmerto Midlothian.
1923 WATTS, REV. A., Yew Tree Villa, Tuffley, Gloucester.
1906 ***Way, Lewis J. U., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.**, at Woodleigh, Leigh Wood Clifton, Bristol.
1920 WEATHERHEAD, MRS., Harborne, Sydenham Road South, Cheltenhan
1920 WEBB, MISS MARIAN, Red Maids' School, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristo
1913 WEBB, HERBERT B., Rose Villa, Talbot Road, Brislington, Bristol.
1903 WEBB, W. E., Capital and Counties Bank, Bristol.
1921 WELLINGTON, C. P., Saintbury, Broadway, Worcs.
1901 *WELLS, CHARLES, F.J.I., 134 Cromwell Road, Bristol.
1904 WELLS, C. COURTENAY, 7 Brunswick Road, Gloucester.
1921 WELLS, ARTHUR E., 38 Henleaze Gardens, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristo
1921 WELLS, MRS. K. H. F., 38 Henleaze Gardens, Westbury-on-Tryr Bristol.
1922 WERE, MISS D. J., 13 Holmesgrove Road, Westbury, Bristol.
1913 WEST, REV. G. H., D.D., 48 Park Road, Gloucester.
1920 WETHERED, MISS M. L., 97 Pembroke Road, Clifton, Bristol.

1919 WETHERED, MRS. A., Energlyn, Canynge Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1911 WHEELER, J. H. W., 15 Upper Cheyne Row, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1922 WHITE, C. H., A.R.I.B.A., 10 St. John St., Bristol.
1920 WHITE, J. B., M.A., 109 Queen's Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1919 **White, Samuel**, Dorset House, Clifton, Bristol.
1921 WHITEMAN, W. W., Court House, Wotton, Gloucester.
1919 WHITLEY, H. S. B., Western Lawn, St. George's Road, Cheltenham.
1922 WILDER, MRS. A. M., Glencairn, Lansdown, Cheltenham.
1914 WILKIN, L., M.A., B.C., 46 London Road, Gloucester.
1904 WILKINS, REV. H. J., D.D., Westbury-on-Trym Vicarage, Bristol.
1921 WILLIAMS, C. F., Hayes Lodge, Sydenham Road, Cheltenham.
1902 WILLIAMS, THOS. WEBB, B.A., Woolcombe St. Mary's, Uplyme, nr. Lyme Regis.
1916 WILLIAMSON, REV. C. A., Cold Ashton Rectory, Chippenham.
1923 WILLS, Mrs. A. S. H., Achers, Woodchester, Glos.
1901 WILLS, G. A., LL.D., Burwalls, Leigh Woods, Bristol.
1920 WILLS, J. B., F.R.I.B.A., 15 Orchard Street, Bristol.
1920 WILLS, T. THORNTON, 19 Belgrave Road, Tyndalls Park, Bristol.
1919 WILSHIRE, F. A., Albion Chambers, Bristol.
1899 **Winchester, The Very Rev. the Dean of, D.D.**, The Deanery, Winchester.
1914 WINDUS, WILLIAM, Runnington Lodge, Durdham Park, Bristol.
1914 WINTERBOTHAM, HERBERT B., Ashmead House, Dursley, Glos.
1901 WISE, WILLIAM HENRY, 31 Henleaze Gardens, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol.
1888 *WITCHELL, E. NORTHAM, Upper Birches, Stroud, Glos.
1923 WITCHELL, M. E. NORTHAM, Upper Birches, Stroud, Glos.
1914 WITTS, MAJOR E. F. B., The Manor, Upper Slaughter, Glos.
1898 **Wollaston, G. H., M.A.**, Flax Bourton, Bristol.
1898 **Wollaston, Mrs.**, Flax Bourton, Bristol.
1915 WOOD, W. B., Avenue Cottage, Barnwood, Gloucester.
1900 WOOLLRIGHT, MAJOR H., Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, London, S.W.1.
1920 WRIGHT, A. JOHN, M.B., B.Sc.Lond., F.R.C.S. Eng., 14 Victoria Square, Clifton, Bristol.
1903 WRIGHT, JNO. ALFRED, C.E., 60 Churchways Avenue, Horfield, Bristol.
1922 WYNTER, ANDREW E., M.D., 26 Oakfield Road, Clifton, Bristol.

1876 YABBICOM, COL. T. H., C.E., 23 Oakfield Road, Clifton, Bristol.
1899 YOUNG, C. E. BARING, Daylesford House, Kingham, Oxon.
1922 **Young, R. Pilkington**, Bourton-on-the-Water, Glos.

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